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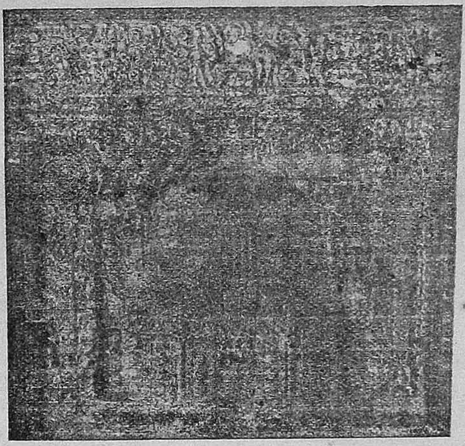

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OBJECTS OF THE SOCIETY

The Objects of the Society shall be :

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NOTE

Owing to scarcity of printing paper on account of war conditions and other causes which were beyond our control, we regret we had to issue *one* Volume only,- Volume XIII—, for the *two* years 1940—41 and 1941—42.

Secretary

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All correspondence and articles for the *Journal* may kindly be addressed to Sri B. V. KRISHNA RAO, M.A., B.L., *Editor*, Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society, Rajahmundry.

OWING to difficulties with our former printers and other causes which were beyond our control, the publication of the Journal has been delayed, for which we regret very much.

—*Editor.*

Journal of the
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RESEARCH SOCIETY

VOL. XIII APRIL 1941 PART I

BIR DHOL

DR. N. VENKATARAMANAYYA, M. A., PH. D.

In describing Malik Kāfur's campaign in Ma'bar, Amīr Khusrau mentions 'two cities' in that part of the kingdom which was under Bīr Pāndya, the elder of the two brothers who were jointly governing the country.[1] These two cities, according to the Khaza'in-ul-Futuh, were Barmatpur (Brahmastapur of Elliot) and Bīrdhōl. Bīr Pāndya resided in the latter which was very probably his capital; and the famous golden temple stood in the former. In the Ashiqa or the Dēvalrāni and Khizr Khān, where Khusrau recounts the main events of the campaign, he also mentions the two principal cities of Bīr Pāndya's dominions, Marhatpuri where the celebrated golden temple stood, and Paṭṭan where Bīr Pāndya himself resided.[2] Therefore, Khusrau refers to the two cities of Bīr Pāndya's kingdom by different names in his two works mentioned above; but this difference is more apparent than real. Barmatpuri is identical with Marhatpuri as shown by the famous 'golden temple' which is common to them. Marhatpur appears to have been corrupted to Barmatpur owing to the peculiarities of the Persian script, and the ignorance of the Muslim scribes of the correct manner of spelling the Hindu proper names. The difference between the two names Barmatpur and Marhatpur when transcribed in the Persian alphabet is not much. A negligent addition of a dot under *meem* in combination with *re* changes 'Mar' to 'Bar'; and the omission of the inverted comma below *hā'i* in combination with *tē*

1. The Khaza'in-ul-Futuh- *JIH*, IX, p. 56.
2. Basē shaharashtba khushky wa tary ham
Paṭṭan khush karda wa Marhatpūry ham
Paṭṭan rā sākhta Manzil gah-i-khīsh
But wa butthana dar Marchatpūry bīsh.
The Devalrani (*Aligarh edition*, p. 72)

transforms 'hat' to 'mat'. People who are familiar with the manuscripts written in the Persian script know that the addition of a dot where it is not necessary, and omission of the inverted comma under *hā'* occur very commonly in Mss. It must have been in this manner that Marhatpur was transformed into Barmatpur. Marhatpur or Marhatpuri is, no doubt, Marakatanagari mentioned in Gāngādevi's *Madhurāvijayam*. This place has been wrongly identified with Virinchipuram on the Pālār; but it appears to be another name of the city of Kāñchī.[1] The final verse of the fourth canto ends with:

Kāñcī nyasta jayā-praśastir=abhithas=saṅkīrṇa-varṇ=āśramam
Nity=ānitya niratyardhiraśiṣat-Tuṇḍīra-bhūmaṇḍalam

The opening verse of the next canto runs thus:

Atha sa tatra mahītala maṇḍanē
Maratak āhvayabhāji mahāpurī
Viracita sthiti-raprati śāsanam
Jagad-aśēaṣm arākṣad anākulam

These verses from the *Madhurāvijayam* leave no room for doubt that Marakatanagari is another name for Kāñchī. Therefore, the Marhatpuri of Khusrau where there were many temples besides the famous golden temple must be Kāñchī, a place which certainly deserves the glowing accounts of the city of the golden temple given by the early Muhammadan historians.

Now, Bīr Dhōl, according to the Khaza'in-ul-Futuh, was the capital of Bīr Pāndya; it was somewhere in the neighbourhood of the sea, if not actually on the coast. As Khusrau records an imaginary dialogue between the sea and Bīr Pāndya who wanted to seek refuge in one of the islands. "I have sailed over thee so often ....Give me refuge in thine islands."[2] Moreover, Kāfur is said to have advanced straight upon Bīr Dhōl from the passes of the Eastern Ghats; on his approach the Rāi fled; and the Mussalmans captured the city.[3] A body of the Mussalmans who had allied themselves with Bīr Pāndya were in the city; though they were taken prisoners, Malik Kāfur pardoned them.[4]

Khusrau mentions all these facts in his Dēvalarāni describing the capture of Paṭṭan also.

"When the imperial army reached Paṭṭan, the misguided Rāi ....hid himself like an ant in a forest. His subjects wandered

1 K. A. Nilakanta Sastri: *The Pandyan Kingdom.*
2 The Khaza'in-ul-Futuh *JIH*, IX, p. 66.
3 *Ibid.*
4 *Ibid.*, p. 68

disconsolate on all sides, and his elephants and tpoops went about searching about their lost 'head'.........The Muslim troops of the Rai submitted to the imperial army; the commander (Malic Kafūr) forgave them."[1]

The facts mentioned in connection with the capture of both the cities are identical, as shown by the schedule below:

Khaza'in-ul-Futuh.	The Dēvalrāni and Khizr Khān-
1. The first city attacked by Malik Kāfūr after he entered Ma'bar was Bīr Dhōl, the capital of Bīr Pāṇḍya.	The first city attacked by Malik Kāfur after he entered Ma'bar, was Paṭṭan, the capital of Bīr Pandya.
2. Bir Dhōl stood on the sea-shore or somewhere near it.	Paṭṭan was a sea-port.
3. When Malik Nāib attacked Bīr Dhol. the Rāi fied, first to Kandūr and then to impenetrable forests.	When Malik Nāib attacked Paṭṭan the Rāi filed from the place and took refuge in the forests.
4. When Bīr Dhōl fell, a body of the Mussalman allies of the Rāi fell into the hands of Malik Kāfūr. He forgave them.	When Paṭṭan fell, a body of the Muslim soldiers in the service of the Rāi fell into Kāfūr's bands. He forgave them.

It is obvious that Khusrau's Bīr Dhōl and Paṭṭan are one and the same place. Bīr Dhōl, however, does not appear to be the correct form of the name. The early Arab geographers refer to it as Biyyar Daval:—

"The capital of Coromandel is Biyyar Dāval. It is the residence of the Sultan of Coromandel. Horses are brought to him from other countries."[3]

That this is the correct from of the word is settled by 'Isamy who rhymes it with '*haval*';[4] but the town appears to have been

1. Habıb: *JIH*, IX, p. 219
2. Paṭṭan rā sākhta manzilgah-i-keīsh
Devalrāni, p. 72
3. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri: *Foreign Notices of South India*.
4. Hama khalq aṭarāf az bīm wa haval
Pana just dar Kōpan wa Bīrdhaval
Futuh-us-Salāṭin, P. 2?9.

generally spoken of as Paṭṭan or 'the town' on account of its great importance. Though no satisfactory explanation of the name Bīradhāval or Biyyar Deval can be offered in the present state of our knowledge, an attempt may now be made to localise it, as its identity with Paṭṭan has been established. It is true that there are any number of places along the Coromandel coast with names ending in 'Paṭṭan.' As the coastal region extending to the north of the Kāvērī alone is involved in the present discussion, the 'paṭṭans' that are situated to the south of this river need not be taken into consideration here. Among the places with the termination 'paṭṭan', "the paṭṭan" under consideration must have been of such great importance as to be referred to only by its termination to the exclusion of the name proper. Kāvēripaṭṭiṇam has been identified by Yule (Marco Polo, ii, p. 335) with Paṭṭaṇam, because it is supposed to have been the Paṭṭaṇam *par excellence* on the Chola coast during that age; but as pointed out by Dr. S. K. Aiyangar, "It does not find any mention in any of the records of the period."[1] There is, however, a place farther up along the coast which appears to be identical with the Paṭṭan mentioned by Khusrau and other Muslim writers. Several epigraphs in and out of Markkāṇam in the Tindivanam taluka of the South Arcot District mention a town called Paṭṭaṇam and a district, Paṭṭaṇa-nāḍu.[2] Of these, two (28 and 29) refer to Paṭṭanam in Paṭṭana-nāḍu; and two others (26 and 30 of 1919) to Eyiripaṭṭiṇam in the same district. It is not improbable that the names Paṭṭaṇam and Eyiripaṭṭiṇam refer to the same place. They appear to be identical with Markkāṇam as shown by some of the epigraphs mentioned above. According to one of them the temple of Tiruppūmichchuvaramuḍaiyar was at Markkāṇam;[3] and in another it is said that the temple of Bh[illegible]varamuḍaiya was at Paṭṭaṇam in Paṭṭiṇanaḍu.[4] It follows from th[illegible] that Markkāṇam is identical with Paṭṭaṇam and Eiyiri Paṭṭaṇam.[5] The city appears to have been in existence from early times, for Eiyiripaṭṭiṇam is mentioned in the Tamil literature of the Sangam period. Having due regard for all the facts stated in the foregoing discussion, it is not unreasonable to presume that Bīr Dhol is identical with Markkāṇam.

A different view is however taken by Dr. S. K. Aiyangar with regard to the identity of Bir Dhōl. In his *South India and Her Muhammadan Invaders*, he has made an attempt to identify the place. He believes that Bīr Dhōl is a corruption of Vīra Śōḷa, and

1. *South India and Her Muhammadan Invaders*, p. 191
2. *MER*, Nos. 23, 24, 65, 26, 28, 29, 30, 31 and 77 of 1919. Markāṇam is obviously a later name probably of Muslim origin meaning a settlement of Muslim traders.
3. *MER*, No. 24 of 1919.
4. *Ibid* No. 29 of 1919
5. Balasubrahmaṇya Iyer: *J. My. S.*, XXI, pp. 413 16.

is identical with Jayamgoṇḍasōḷapaṭṭaṇam which might have had another name Vīrasōḷapaṭṭaṇam.

"Bir Dhul cannot be anything else," says he, "than Vīra Sōḷan, in the mouth of a northern foreigner unless he meant Chola country under Bīr as a whole. Amir Khusrau speaks of the country as the country of Bīr, which is synonymous with Vīra may be Vīra Chōḷa or Vīra Pāṇḍya. Apparently Amir Khusrau means Vīra Pāṇḍya. If Bīr becomes Vīra, Dhūl by itself cannot stand for any particular place, and seems to be the Tamil Sōḷa either the country or the king, thus rendered in the phonology of a northern foreigner."[1]

It is evident that Dr. S. K. Aiyangar takes Bīr Dhōl to mean the country Vīra Chōḷa or king Vīra Chōḷa; but Khusrau invariably applies the name to a city; and he is in agreement with other Mussalman writers. Abul Feda, for instance, states, as noticed already, that Biyyar Dāval was the capital of Coromandel where the king of the country resided; and 'Isāmy' refers to it as a fortified town. "When that work was accomplished," he says, "that brave man (Malik Kāfūr) captured the provinces of the kingdom; all the people of the provinces, on account of fear and terror, sought refuge in Kōpan and Bīr Dhaval."[2]

Dr. Aiyangar who is not entirely unaware of this fact attempts to get out of the difficulty by transferring what he has called the name of a country or its king to that of a city namely Jayamgoṇḍa-sōḷāpuram. He points out that "Jayamgoṇḍa-sōḷa was a title assumed by the great Chōḷa Rājādhirāja, the immediate successor of Rajendra I; probably, he founded the city, and by him it was intended to be a royal city as well. Bīr Dhōl of the Muhammadan historians is identifiable with this, on the supposition that it might have had an alternative name, Vīrasōḷāpuram as the capital of Vira Pāṇḍya.

The identification of Bīr Dhōl with Jayamgoṇḍa Sōḷāpuram thus rests on a series of assumptions, each improbable in itself, and there is no need to discuss them at any length here.

1. *South India and Her Muhammadan Invaders*, p. 110.
2. *Futuh Salatin*, p. 289.

THE JOINT VILLAGES OF SOUTH INDIA AND COMMUNAL TENURE.

PROF. KUMUDRANJAN CHATTERJEE, M. A., B. L., SERAMPORE.

Students of economics are generally aware of two kinds of land tenure in India - rayatwari and landlord. In the first, land is owned by peasant proprietors who generally cultivate the land themselves, and in the second the owner or owners of land enjoy certain kinds of rent from land, the latter being cultivated generally not by themselves but by tenants. Besides these two kinds of land tenure there was in India, only a few hundred years ago, a third kind of land tenure, which may be called joint, and which was quite unlike the two kinds of tenure now generally prevalent in India. It was a sort of communal ownership of land, in which ownership of land lay not with the individual peasant proprietors nor with a particular family but with all the members of the community in common. The following paragraphs will be devoted to a short description of this system of land tenure which was prevalent in South India a short time ago.

Under this system the right to any particular spot of cultivated land in the village was not vested in any individual, the entire cultivated land along with the common waste and the common fallow land belonged to all the villagers in common. The lands were cultivated by all in common and the net produce after payment of tax was divided according to the share of each. Even a piece of jungle land which was cleared by any individual was not regarded his property but the property of the community and any claim to it was regarded as rank rebellion. Mr. Hewitt in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1897, gives a good description of this sort of land tenure, which he himself observed as prevailing among the aborigines of the Central Provinces in the third quarter of the nineteenth century. "The cultivated lands are all divided into a certain number of lots called knoots or Lakas, generally five in number. One of these belongs to the headman, and the remainder are ruled by chosen elders whose duty it is to assist the headman in dividing all the arable rice land into fields. These are so arranged that every cultivator shall receive as his share a proportion of every kind of soil sown with rice exactly equivalent to the share due to the total holding." In the Tamil country a village in which such a division

took place was called 'kareiyed'. The distribution of plots of land among the cultivators was however of not a permanent nature. The fields were redistributed periodically so that no tenant should monopolise the best land.[1] This division was made either by the process of casting lots or by common consent. Thus the right of the cultivator was not to a certain plot of land but to a certain share or number of shares in the produce. The only separate land he could hold was the garden or back-yard attached to his house and situated within the limits of the village site. The redistributions were at first made annually and then at an interval of 8 to 30 years. For repair of village buildings such as temples, construction of banks, dams, channels and sub-channels, necessary for irrigating the fields, certain plots were kept apart; after deducting the tenants' share, the rest of the produce of these plots of land was utilised for these common purposes. Another evidence of the communal proprietorship in land in these villages was furnished by the custom of transfer of land. It was essential to the validity of every transfer that it should be sanctioned and authenticated by every individual concerned in the property of his village. Any transfer without the consent of the village community was illegal and void. Further even when a sale or mortgage of any portion of the village land was sanctioned by the village community, the latter could buy it first by exercising the right of pre-emption. Thus strangers even if they were of the same caste as the village cultivators could obtain no settlement within the village without the formal consent of the whole. The admission of a new ryot in a village, when it was agreed upon by the village community, was generally done by throwing the whole of the village land into one lot and then by redistributing it so as to get the required plot of land for the new-comer.[2]

Now what was the relation between these village communities and the government of the land? With whom were the settlements for land revenue made? At the outset it may appear that the government would make arrangements with a certain definite individual such as the headman of the village, or an elected representative of the village so as to hold him down as responsible for the collection and payment of land revenue. But such was not usually the case. In the settlement papers made under Bhumihari Act of 1869, lands (in Chota Nagpur) were recorded not in the name of individual tillers of each plot, but under the general heading of lands of the knoot, subject to distribution among the clan members according to clan customs. That this was also the custom in earlier times is testified by numerous South Indian inscriptions.

1. Stokes - *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. III p. 65.
2. A. C. Burnell - *Elements of South India Palaeography*

In some districts of the Madras Presidency this system of land tenure became modified in course of time and came to be known as Palabhogam. Under this system, the village land instead of being distributed annually became permanently divided among the cultivators. The latter could sell their plots of land and when they did so they transferred to the purchaser not only his individual right to certain fields, but also a right to participate in the waste or common arable land in proportion to the share of his right. Thus here we find the original collective tenure being converted into one of severalty and approaching very near the ryotwari tenure of modern times. It is in this way alone that we can account for the wide prevalence of ryotwari tenure in South India in modern times. It is nothing but a modified development of a joint system of land tenure which prevailed here in ancient times.

But have we really any evidence of its general prevalence in ancient times? In trying to answer this question let us first of all examine the condition of land tenure in South India in the early period of British rule there. We shall see then that even at that time (not to speak of 'ancient times') this system of land tenure was widely spread throughout the Deccan. Briggs in his 'Land Tax' says that on the establishment of every Tamil village, as now constituted, the rights of occupancy of the whole land were equally shared by all the vellalar settlers, as a collective body, not bh individually.[1] A. C. Burnell who wrote his 'Elements of Souty India Palaeography' in the third quarter of the nineteenth century has remarked in one place of his book 'that the system still exists to a great extent in South India'. According to the famous Fifth Report[2] again there were many such villages in the Tanjore district at the time of its compilation. The committee appointed to report on the project of making a permanent settlement in that district in 1807 found 1774 such villages; Mr. Chisholm,[3] settlement officer of Belaspore (1863—'69); noticed the existence of joint villages in the northern part of Chhatisgarh. Another settlement officer, Mr. Place,[4] of about the same time reported about the vellalar villages of Madras as follows:—"the council, that is the panchyat, determined each year what portion of land each group should undertake, and the village body worked without any corporate or permanent allotment of lands." I have already referred to the fact that when under the Bhumihari Act of 1869 settlements were made in Chota Nagpur they were made not in the name of individual peasant proprietors but of the village communities. Mr. Hewitt who was a

1. Briggs *Land Tax* p. 242.
2. *Fifth Report* p. 830
3. *J. R. A. S.* 1897 : p. 627.
4. *Baden* Powell - *Indian Village Community p.* 537.

commissioner in the Central Provinces in the middle of the nineteenth century for a long time remarks in J. R. A. S, 1899, page 329. "throughout the whole of this area (the Oraon province of Khokra, Doisa and Petheris) the village lands are held not as individual but common property and the land tilled by each royt is liable to pass into other hands at the time of village redistributions."

Leaving aside the evidence of the modern period, if we go back to the ancient times we find that even then joint villages were very common in South India. No. 40 of *South Indian Inscriptions* Vol. I and an inscription of the reign of Koluttunga Chola I (No. 142 of 192) mention the fact of the annual distribution of village lands. As evidence of communal ownership of land in Chola times may be noticed the terms *sabhamanjikham* and *urmanjikham* in *South Indian Inscriptions* (Vol. III. No. 156, 181, 7) the escheat to the village of land that was in arrears for tax on it (*S. I. I.* III, 162) and the sale of waste land by the village for being reclaimed and put to some specific use (No. 220 of 1901). An inscription of the reign of Sundara Chola from Madhurāntakam records the sale by the Sabha in a public manner of some land described clearly as part of the unappropriated common land of the village, (No. 396 of 1922).

Thus the existence of joint villages, or villages where a communal tenure of land prevailed in South India, or at least in a major portion of South India, is now an indisputable fact. Now whither should we trace the origin of this peculiar system of land tenure in South India? According to Baden-Powell, one of the greatest authorities on Indian villages, these joint villages 'were the growth of special circumstances', and they 'were not the primeval or always existing form of landholding which the people of West, Central and Southern India naturally developed, (Indian Village Community, p. 126). The special circumstances which were responsible for the growth of these villages were, according to Baden-Powell, grants of early princes to Brahmins, colonising enterprises by the Vellalar and other castes, secular grants for various purposes and the extension of cultivation to new lands. But is this account of the origin of the joint villages sufficient to explain away the communal land tenure system in the Deccan? When we remember that this system of land tenure prevailed even in the non-Dravadian part of the Deccan (e. g. Chota Nagpur & the Central Provinces) among the pre-Dravadian people who came and settled in India long before the Dravadians, we think that some other explanation is necessary to explain the origin of the joint villages.

The communal origin of land tenure, I think, clearly refers to a matriarchal system among the people where it prevailed. It originated first among the pre-Dravidians of India when the custom of

2

marriage was still unknown to them. Such being the case hereditary succession to an ancestral estate was out of the question among them. So, naturally, permanent division of the village land among the village people could not be done. It is in the tenure of the barley-growing tribes of the north-west that we find the ideas of individual and family proprietory rights in definite portions of land. They first introduced in India the custom of marriage. With them the land held and tilled by each cattle-owning family was the family property. There were the people who came down in India as the Jats and others and changed the communal tenures of the pre-Dravidians into tenures which we now call ryotwari and landlord. So the conclusion to which we come is that the communal system of land tenure in the joint village of the Deccan orginated first among the pre-Dravadians such as the Oraons, Mundas, Khonds and others. Later on it also spread into the far south and was adopted largely by the Dravidians. But as Aryan influence spread more and more into the Deccan, the land tenure of the Aryans, i. e. ryotwari tenure, came in and became firmly established in the South and in course of time supplanted the primitive communal tenure prevailing there before.

THE SURAPURAM CHIEFS AND SOME SANSKRIT WRITERS PATRONISED BY THEM.

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In 1936, the Catalogus Catalogorum office of the Madras University was supplied with a list of the works of the ancestors of Tirumala Bukkapaṭṭaṇam Jātakavidvanmaṇi Veṅkaṭācārya, staying at Amarcinta, Ātmakūr Samsthānam in the Nizam's Dominions, at the suggestion of Mr. S. Pratapa Reddi, B.A., B.L., High Court Vakil, Hyderabad (Dn.). The list gave us short descriptions of seven authors and their works, chiefly on Viśiṣṭādvaita, a few of which were referred to as also printed. All the authors belonged to a family called after their native home, Bukkapaṭṭaṇam and some of them had the title 'Rājaguru'. The following are these authors:—

1. S'rīnivāsa
2. Aṇṇaya dikṣita
3. Kirīṭi Veṅkaṭācārya
4. Aṇṇaya (Junior) (?)
5. Bucci Veṅkaṭācārya
6. Raṅgācārya and T. śrīnivāsācārya

A perusal of the Catalogues of MSS. in the Madras Govt. Oriental Library, the Adyar Library and the Mysore Oriental Library showed that MSS. of many of the works in the above mentioned list of works were available in these libraries. Though Mr. Jātakavidvanmaṇi Venkaṭācārya said that, at his leisure, he would send us detailed notes on each of the works mentioned by him, he did not supply us with any further information on these authors and their works. Whereupon I proceeded to do some work on this family of writers and the chiefs who patronised these writers.

The list of works supplied by Mr. Jātakavidvanmaṇi Veṅkaṭācārya could not be accepted wholesale; for, he mentioned Virōdhavarūthinī-pramāthinī as a work of Aṇṇayadīkṣīta, but it is found as the work of S'rīnivāsa in the Madras Library. [See Descriptive Catalogue No. 4998.] In his list of the works of S'rīnivāsa, the descendent of the author had confused a number of S'rīnivāsas: Thus Rahasyatrayasāra-Gāthāvyākhyā mentioned among S'rīnivāsa's works as available in a MSS. in the Madras Library, Des. No. 5342; and its author is a Bhāradvāja S'rīnivāsā, while our S'rīnivāsa is a S'aṭhamārsaṇa. The list mentions similarly Durupadōs'adhikkāra and

an Aṣṭādaśabhēdavicāra, MSS. of both of which are found in the Adyar Library (21. L. 1 and 34. F 26 ; and 9. G. 35 ; pp. 155 and 159 of Part II of the Adyar Catalogue), from which we find that the author is not our Śrīnivāsa, but a Śrīnivāsa, pupil of a Vādhūla Mahācārya. Rāmānuja-siddhānta-saṁgraha given in the list as a work of our Śrīnivāsa is found in a Ms. (Cat. II p. 165a. 10. H. 6) in the Adyar Library and in another in the Madras Library (MD. 4990) as the work of a Śrīnivāsa Rāghava of Śrīvatsa-gōtra son of a Vēṅkaṭārya who got the title Caṇḍamāṃta from a Śrīnivāsamuni, and a pupil of Kṛṣṇasūri and Raṅganātha. The list discloses great affinity with the Mysore Library Catalogue in which most of the work-names of the list are found ; but, since it is not possible to get extracts for all these MSS. from Mysore and verify the further entries in the list, I shall content myself with a study of this family of writers on the basis by MSS. in the Madras and Adyar Libraries.

ŚRĪNIVĀSĀCĀRYA

A Śrīnivāsācārya is the most prolific writer of this family. MD. (Madras Descriptive Catalogue) 4894–5, is a Brahmasūtra-vyākhyā of this Śrīnivāsa, called Tattvamārtāṇḍa. In the first verse the author salutes Rāmānuja, Vedāntadeśika, a Śrīnivāsa, Parakāla and a Vīrarāghavadeśika. The next verse salutes one *Jayavara deśika* who belongs to the *Śrīśaila* family and who learnt the Śāstras from one *Ācārya Dīkṣita.* Verse three extols Jayavara's brother *Śrīnivāsārya* ; and the next verse mentions his proficiency in the Śatradūṣaṇī. In two other introductory verses, the author salutes two other elders, *Vēṅkaṭādhvari* and *Aṇṇayārya.* The next verse is on *Śrīnivāsa Tātārya.* It is followed by verse according to which the author studied Śrībhāṣya under a *Śrīnivāsa.* The verse next to it mentions that the author studied under his own elder brother also. The writer describes this work, Tattvamārtāṇḍa, as a criticism of the Dvaita work Candrikā ; and refers also to two other works of his, Naya-dyumaṇi and Siddhānta-cintāmaṇi with his own gloss, From the colophon we understand that the author belongs to the Śrīśaila family, that the Śrīnivāsa Tatārya mentioned above is his father, that his mother is Lakṣmāmbā, that Śrīnivāsa mentioned previously as his *guru* (in both Mīmāṁsās) belongs to Kauṇḍinya gōtra and the other *guru* Aṇṇaya mentioned is his own elder brother.

In the list supplied by Mr. Jātakāvidvanmaṇi Veṅkaṭācārya, mention is made of two works under Śrīnivāsa, Aṇṇādhikaraṇa-mañjarī and Aṇṇādhikaraṇa-saraṇi-vivaraṇī. From MD. 4861–7, we find that the two titles represent but one work. It is by the author of the Tattvamārtāṇḍa. The verses at the end of this work and the colophon speak of the author's father Śrīnivāsa Tātārya,

elder brother Aṇṇayārya, mother Lakṣmāmbā, and *guru* Kouṇḍinya S'rīnivasadīkṣita. The additional information in the colophon here is that the author belongs to *S'aṭhamarṣaṇa gōtra.*

MD. 4869 is the same S'rīnivāsa's Ānanda-tāratamya khaṇḍana, a critique again of a Dvaita doctrine.

MD. 4871 is the same author's criticism of the Dvaita view that *Ōmkāra* forms a part of the first Sūtra of Bādarāyaṇa. The fact is called in this MS. *Ōmkāra Vādārtha*, but in MT. (Madras Triennial Catalogue) 1295, the same work carries the title *Nayamaṇi Kalikā.* It is by the latter name that this work is mentioned in the Amarcinta list. The concluding verse of this work mentions the *grandfather* of the author as an *Aṇṇayārya.* MD. 4872 is another MS. of this same work.

MD. 4883 Jijñāsā darpaṇa – by the same S'rīnivāsa.

MD. 4886 – Jñānaratnaprakās'ikā – by the same S'rīnivāsa. Grandfather Aṇṇaya is mentioned here.

MD. 4888–90 Ṇatvadarpaṇa – by the same S'rīnivāsa.

MD. 4929 MT. 110(b) 693, 5104(a) represent another work of this writer, – Puccha-brahma-vādanivāsa.

MD. 4932-3. Praṇavadarpaṇa by same author. Subject same as in the author's *Ōmkāra vādārtha* or Nayamaṇikalikā noted already.

MD. 4980. Bhēdadarpaṇa by the same writer.

MD. 4996-7. Virōdhanirōdha or Bhāṣyapādukā. in support of the S'rībhāṣya by the same S'rīnivāsa.

MD. 4998. Virōdha-varūthinī-pramāthinī by the same, on the same theme as the previous work.[1] One of the introductory verses here given gives us additional information; it mentions that the author belongs to *S'rīs'aila Bukkapaṭṭana* family (*i. e. Tirumala Bukkapaṭṭana family*), and along with his father S'rīnivasa Tātayārya, mentions a Narasimha Tātayārya, who is evidently S'rīnivāsa Tātayārya's brother.

श्रीशैल बुक्कपट्टण कुलकलशपयोधियामिनी न्यथा ।
नरसिहनातयार्यं श्रीनिधितातार्यदेशीकौ कलये ॥

The colophon also mentions the family as S'rīs'aila Bukkapaṭṭana-kula.

MD. 5054-5 is another in this author's series styled "Darpaṇa"; it is called Ṣaṣṭhyarthanirṇaya or Ṣaṣṭhīdarpaṇa. The author's Jijñāsādarpaṇa is mentioned here.

MT. 1287 – Nayadyumaṇi with Dīpikā, an exposition of the Brahmasūtras in Stotra – form with a gloss, is another work of

1. Is this a reply to the Advaitic work Virōdha-varūdhinī of Umāmahes'vara (Mysore Catalogue, I, p. 488) ?

S'rīnivāsa. From one of the introductory verses here, we gain the additional information that the author's grand-father Aṇṇayadīkṣita had an elder brother named *Veṅkatasutvan*. नत्वा वेङ्कटसुत्वनः पदयुगीम् etc.

MT. 1304 in another in S'rīnivāsa's "Darpaṇa" series, the Pradhāna pratitantra darpaṇa.

MT. 2120 is the same author's Siddhānta cintāmaṇi, which according to the note here in the Madras catalogue seems to be known also as Upādānatva samarthana. There are four more MSS. of this work in the Madras Library, MT. 2235, 2543(c), 3546(a) and 5051.

Besides the above-noticed works on Vis'iṣṭadvaita, this S'rīnivāsa has written some poetry and two works pertaining to Dharma s'āstra literature. MD. 15636 and MT. 5442(f) represent S'rīnivāsa's work on 'adoption', Dattaratnapradīpikā.

MD. 3140 in his Bhuktidīpikā, more fully Grahaṇa-bhuktidīpikā, dealing with the problem of eating on eclipse days. There is a Ms. of this work in Adyar also. (Catalogue I. p. 114 b).

MD. 12053 is S'rīnivāsa's Nītis'ataka. Here again he refers to *Ācārya dīkṣita*, one of those whom he reveres.

MD. 12132 is a collection of his Subhāṣita s'lōkas.

Besides these, as I have said at the outset, other works ascribed to him in the Amaracinta list are found in the Mysore Catalogue ; while some of these ascriptions are wrong, others have not yet been verified by me.

In his Virodha-varūthini-pramāthiṇi, MD. 4998, Śrīnivāsa refers to another work of his, a criticism, evidently of the Advaita.

विस्तरेणास्मत्कृत.......... प्रध्वंसिन्यां कृतमिति तत्रैव द्रष्टव्यम् ।

We can now tabulate our knowledge of this S'rīnivāsa's family as known from the above examined works of S'rīnivāsa :—

S'aṭhamarṣaṇa gōtra
S'rīs'aila (Tirumala) Bukkapaṭṭana Family.

Brothers
- [1]Veṅkatasutvan I
- Aṇṇaya dīkṣita I
  sons
  - Jayavara (pupil of Ācārya dīkṣita)
  - Narsimha Tātārya
  - S'rīnivāsa Tātārya I, wife Lakṣmāmbā
    - Aṇṇārya II
    - S'rīnivāsa II

Guru Kauṇḍinya S'rīnivasa dīkṣita

1 We shall note later that Veṅkaṭa sutvan I might have had a son named S'rīnivāsa and another younger brother also named S'rīnivāsa.

AṆṆĀYĀCĀRYA.

We saw that S'rīnivāsa referred to an elder brother of his named Aṇṇayācārya as one of his *gurus*. We may now examine his works.

MT. 1294 is a criticism of a Dvaita viewpoint by Aṇṇaya, styled Muktau Ānanda-tāratamya-khaṇḍana. Aṇṇaya's colophon mentions the S'aṭhamarṣaṇa gotra and his father S'rīnivāsa Tātārya; and the new details we get here are that Aṇṇaya's mother was named *Veṅkaṭāmbā* and that he had an elder brother under whom he studied, named *Veṅkaṭārya*.

MD. 10600 is this Aṇṇaya's Stotra on Vedānta des'ika, called Ācārya vims'ati. Here also, he mentions his mother as Venkaṭāmbā. The family of the author is also mentioned in this work (इति बुक्कपट्टण कुलाम्बुधे·दुना .

MD. 12295-6 represent the Tattvaguṇādars'a and a commentary on it by this Aṇṇaya, a campūkāvya in imitation of Veṇkaṭādhvarin's Vis'vaguṇādars'a. In an introductory verse in the commentary, Aṇṇaya mentions his grand-father *Aṇṇaya* and his elder brother *Veṅkaṭa*, mentioned as Veṅkaṭasutvan by his younger brother S'rīnivāsa. Aṇṇaya also is a pupil of Kauṇḍinya S'rīnivāsa.

MT. 6089(d) is the same Aṇṇaya's s'āstraic tract Vyāvahārikatva Khaṇḍanasāra, of which the Adyar Library also posseses Mss. (Mss. No. 22 D 83; firstwork in that codex; and Mss. No. 34 E 8, second work in that codex).

Besides, we have the Ms. of a Stotra on Kṛṣṇa in 72 verses by this Aṇṇaya in the Bikaner State Library, called the Abhinavakarṇāmṛta.[1]

In Adyar 23C25, first work in the codex (Catalogue II p. 167b) we seem to have a Ṣaṣṭhyarthadarpaṇa by Aṇṇaya.

The title Rasodārabhāṇa occuring in the Amaracintā list under Aṇṇaya is found in the Mysore Catalogue (I p. 281, 2 MSS) MSS. where the author is specified as *Surapuram* Aṇṇayārya. Surapuram, as we shall see, was the place to which this family migrated. We have therefore another work of this Aṇṇaya in this Rasodāra-bhāṇa. With reference to the name Gītārthasāra-saṁgraha mentioned in the Amarcintā list under Aṇṇaya, I have not been able to verify the information.

VEṆKAṬĀCĀRYA

From a notice of Aṇṇaya's work, we become acquainted with an elder brother of his named Veṅkaṭacārya. Let us now survey his works:

1. This information could be gleaned from the Notes from Bikaner Mss. prepared by Dr. C. Kunhan Raja.

MD. 5063–66 represent a work of this Veṅkaṭācārya named Siddhānta ratnāvali. The introductory verses describe the Bukkapaṭṭana family and the author's father Tātārya. The author's *guru* is refered to as Veṅkaṭācārya.

MD. 5067 is this Veṅkaṭācārya's Siddhānta-vaijayantī. The colophon here adds that the author's mother was *Veṅkaṭāmbā*, as mentioned in Aṇṇaya's colophons also. The author's *guru* is referred to here also as *Veṅkaṭācārya*.

A third work of this author is Jagan-mithyātva-khaṇḍana, available in Mss. 22D83 (second work in the codex) in the Adyar Library (Catalogue II p. 163a).

इत्येवंवेङ्कटार्येण तातयाचार्य सूनुना ।
रचितं वादिसिंहेन जगन्मिथ्यात्वखण्डनम् ॥

This Veṇkaṭācarya appears also to have composed a hymn on Vedānta desika called Desika aṣṭottara śatanāma stotra, found in the Adyar Ms. 30 E 49 (catalogue I. p. 213), where we read the beginning and colophon thus:

निगमा न्तगुरोर्नाम्नां प्रभावो येन वर्णितः ।
तं वेङ्कटार्य मनिशं तातार्यतनयं भजे ॥
इति श्रीशैल वेङ्कटाचार्य विरचितम् आचार्यनामाष्टोत्तरशतं सम्पूर्णम् ॥

MT. 5094 is Ānanda-tāratamya-khaṇḍana by a Veṅkaṭācārya who is likely to be identical with the above noted author, Veṅkaṭācārya II. The work criticises one Subrāhmaṇyācārya and the Mādhvas.

Of this first son of S'rīnivāsa Tātārya, the elder brother of Aṇṇaya and eldest of S'rīnivāsa, the Amarcinta list does not even speak. We learn from the colophons in mss. of his as well as Aṇṇaya's works that their mother was named Veṅkaṭāmbā; but S'rīnivāsa names his mother as Lakṣmāmbā and in the last verse in MT. 2120, his Siddhānta cintāmani, he specifies that Tātayārya and Lakṣmāmbā gave birth to him along with Aṇṇayārya dīkṣita. Tātārya the father either had two wives or his single wife had both the names Veṅkaṭāmbā and Lakṣmāmba (probably the familiar combination Veṅkaṭa Lakṣmāmbā).

We can tabulate the full family of S'rīnivāsa Tātārya thus:

S'rīnivāsa Tātārya
*Veṅkaṭāmbā and Lakṣmāmbā or Veṇkaṭa Lakṣmāmbā

Veṅkatācārya II (pupil of Veṅkatadesika and *Guru* of next brother Aṇṇaya)	Aṇṇayācārya II (*guru* of next brother)	S'rīnivasācarya II

pupils of Kauṇḍinya S'rīnivāsa dīkṣita

The next Generation:—VEṄKAṬĀCĀRYA III

In MD. 1520, we have a grammar tract, criticising Bhaṭṭoji, called Gajasūtrārtha or Gajasūtravādārtha. From the full colophon here we learn that a Veṅkaṭadāsa is its author and that he was the son of Aṅṅayācārya, the son of S'rīnivāsa Tātārya; and that this Veṅkaṭa was a pupil of his junior paternal uncle, S'rinivāsa dīkṣita. In MT. 4264(b), another Ms. of this Gajasūtravādārtha, the author is distinguished as Ayyā-Veṅkaṭācārya.

MD. 9901, a stotra called Kṛṣṇa bhāva s'ataka in which the author calls himself Veṇkaṭārya of Śrīs'aila Bukka Paṭṭana Kula is most probably another work of this Veṅkaṭācārya III.

MT. 369(a) is this arthor's treatise on Alaṁkāra, Alaṁkāra-kaustubha. The first verse here salutes God Kṛṣṇa at *Surapuram*. of which we shall speak more later. The account of the geneology here starts with Aṇṇaya I.

ANNAYA I

Aṇṇaya I=S'rīnivāsa-Tāta I, who had the titles 'Dantidyoti' and 'Divāpradipa'.

Aṇṇaya II=S'rīnivāsa II, son of former and pupil of latter, Veṅkata III.

MT. 5439b and 5501 represent a play by this same Veṅkaṭā-cārya III, called the S'ṛṅgārataraṅgiṇī. Here again Kṛṣṇa (at Surapuram) is saluted; we learn from the prologue here that the author had an elder brother named S'rīnivāsa (S'rīnivāsācārya III) under whom he studied Mīmāmsa.

R. 41(a) in the Madras *Telugu* Triennial Catalogues gives us a Telugu Dvisandhāna Kāvya of this Veṅkaṭācārya, called the Acalātmaja-pariṇayamu. It describes atonce by *S'leṣa* the marriages of both Sītā and Pārvatī.

Besides these, the Amarcinta list mentions as this Veṅkaṭā-cārya's works a Criticism of Gadādhara called Jañjhāmāruta (may be the work on p. 379 of Mysore Catalogue I), a S'ṛṅgāralaharı (of Mysore Catalogue I, p. 259, a stotra called also Lakṣmīs'ataka), a Das'āvatāra stotra, a Hayagrīvadaṇḍaka and an Yatirājadaṇḍaka. The Amarcinta list distinguishes this Veṅkaṭācārya as *Kīrtti* Veṅkaṭācārya.

BUCCI VEṄKAṬĀCĀRYA OR VEṄKAṬĀCĀRYA IV.

We have up till now learnt that Aṇṇaya II had two sons, S'rīnivāsa III and Veṅkaṭa III. We shall now get acquainted with the third son of Aṇṇaya II, named *Bucci* Veṅkaṭācārya.

MD. 5005 is Bucci Veṅkaṭācārya's Vedāntakārikāvali. The author specifically mentions him as the third son of Aṇṇaya, evidently to distinguish himself from his elder brother, Veṅkaṭācārya III.

अण्णयार्याध्वरेन्द्रस्य तार्तीयीकतनूभुवा ।
श्रीमद्वेङ्कटदासेन निर्मिता कारिकावली ॥

Col : * * अण्णयार्यसोमपीथिनः तृतीयसुतेन बुच्चिवेंकटाचार्येण * * ।

MD. 10352 is a stotra of this Bucci Veṅkaṭācārya, Viṣṇusapta vibhakti stotra. Here again the author takes care to describe himself as Aṇṇaya's third son :

विनिर्मलाद्य तिर्मलान्ववाय बुक्कपट्टनान्वयाण्ण यर्य यज्वनस्तुतीयसू नुनामुना ।
प्रणीय वेंकटार्ययर्य दासकेन etc ॥

The Amarcinta list does not know this stotra of Bucci Veṅkaṭa-cārya ; but it speaks of three other works ; of these the Abhinava-sṛṅgārarasamañjarī is an Alaṁkāra work by one of our Veṅkaṭā-cāryas, for Mysore I p. 639 notes a Ms. of it and specifies the author as Bukkapattanam Veṅkaṭācārya. The next is Kalyāṇapurañjana Nāṭaka (of Mysore I p. 375) and the third is a S'ṛṅgārasarvasva.

We now get the following further branches of the family tree :—

Brothers

Veṅkaṭācārya II | Aṇṇayācārya II | Śrīnvāsācārya II

Three sons

Śrīnivāsa III, *guru* of next brother. | Veṅkaṭācārya III also called *Ayyā* Veṅkaṭācārya and *Kirīti* Veṅkaṭācārya ; pupil of uncle Śrīnivāsa II and elder brother Śrīnivāsa III | Bucci Veṅkaṭācārya.

Besides Aṇṇaya II, second son of Śrīnivāsa Tātārya and elder brother and guru of Śrīnivāsacārya II and younger brother of Veṅ-kaṭācārya II, the Amaracinta list speaks of another Aṇṇaya and credits him with the works Siddhānta ratnāvalī, Siddhānta vaijayantī, Des'ikayas'obhūṣaṇa and an Ācāryavims'ati. This seems to be a non-existent Aṇṇayācārya. For Ācāryavims'ati (MD. 10600) is by Aṇṇaya II, and it has been pointed out above that both Siddhānta ratnāvalī and Siddhānta vaijayanti are the works of Veṅkaṭācārya II, elder brother Aṇṇaya II. It must be noted that the Amarcinta list does not know Veṅkaṭācārya II.

The Amarcinta list mentions further two more authors of this Tirumala Bukkapaṭṭanam family, Raṅgācārya with the authorship of four works and Śrīnivācārya, author of 19 works, one of which, a description of the last Great War in Europe shows him as a modern writer. I have not been able to gather any independent information on these two writers.

THE *Gurus* MENTIONED BY THESE WRITERS

Going back again to the three brothers, Veṅkaṭācārya II, Aṇṇayācārya II and Śrīnivāsācārya II: The eldest mentions one Veṅkaṭadeśika as his guru and I have not been able to know anything about this *guru* Veṅkaṭa. The other two brothers mention frequently Kauṇḍinya Śrīnivāsā as their teacher, of whose family we are in a position to know something.

In MD. 12633 we have a Bhāṇa called Rasikajanarasollāsa; it is described fully in Seshagiri Sastri Report, I, with extracts on pp. 85-87. It was written by Veṅkaṭa of the Kauṇḍinya gotra, while yet he was a boy. He gives the following particulars about his ancestors and *gurus*.

Kauṇḍinya Gotra (A family at Kāmasamudra village.)
|
Ahobilācārya
First son | Second son
Ācārya Dīkṣita | Sampadācārya
|
son Vedāntācārya *married* Akkamāmbā
|
son Veṅkaṭa (author)

had his Mantropadeśa from a *Śrīnivāsādhvarin*; and studied under Śrīnivāsācārya, younger brother of Aṇṇayācrāya.

We have noted above that Śrīnivāsa II, younger brother of Aṇṇaya II, mentions one Ācārya dikṣita. In MD. 4894, his Tattvamārtāṇḍa, Śrīnivāsa II refers to this Ācārya dīkṣita as the teacher of his seniormost paternal uncle Jayavara; and at the end of his Nītiśataka, MD. 12053, Śrīnivāsa says that he had himself been blessed by Ācārya dīkṣita. We may identify this Ācārya dīkṣita with the person of the same name mentioned in the Rasikajanarasollāsabhāṇā as the elder brother of the author Veṅkaṭa's grand-father. The Śrīnivāsādhvarin mentioned by Veṅkaṭa in his Bhāṇa as having given him Mantropadeśa is likely to be idential with the Kauṇḍinya Śrīnivāsādhvarin who taught Aṇṇaya II and Śrīnivāsa II. But what exact relation in the family this Kauṇḍinya Śrīnivāsa bore to the author of the Bhāṇa Veṅkata, we do not know.

In the Madras Library, we have another work which we may consider in connection with our study of the Bukkapaṭṭaṇam family. MT. 5719 is Divya sumano guṇa vaijayantī by one Śrīnivāsdāsa, son of Veṅkaṭadīkṣita who had a brother named Śrīnivāsa. He describes himself as a pupil of Veṅkaṭa and Ahobila of Kauṇḍinya Gotra. The Veṅkaṭa referred to here as the father of Śrīnivāsadāsa may be Veṅkaṭa I, brother of Śrīnivāsa to the two we already know. If that is so, this author of Divya sumano guṇa vaijayantī will become a cousin

of Jayavara, first son of Aṇṇaya I and the pupil of an Ācarya dīkṣīta whom we may take as the Kauṇḍindya Ācarya dīkṣīta noted above. It will be reasonable then to accept the information in the Divya sumano guṇa vaijayantī that its author Śrīnivāsadāsa was a student of Ācaryadīkṣīta's father Kauṇḍinya Ahobala.

THE PATRONS OF THESE WRITERS.

Of the above noted writers, Aṇṇayācārya II says at the end of his Tattva guṇadarśa (MD. 12295) that he was the court poet and preceptor of a chief named Veṅkaṭa of the Kosala family, son of the chief Rāghava.

श्रीमत्कोसलवंशामौक्तिकमणेः श्रीराघवक्षोणिभृ-
द्वर्यक्षीरपयोधिशीतमहसः श्रीवेंकटक्ष्माभृतः ।
आस्थाने स्थितिमास्थितेन भजता धुर्या तदाचार्यतां
श्रीशैलाण्णयदेश्कीकेन रचितः तत्वार्थवीदर्पणः ॥

Aṇṇaya II's brother Śrīnivāsa II work his Subhāṣitas also for the pleasure of this Kōsala Veṅkaṭa :

श्रीमत्कोसलवंश वारिधिशशी श्रीवेङ्कटक्ष्मापतिः
तत्सन्तो कृतिं प्राविदधे श्रीश्रीनिवासः सुधीः ॥ MD. 12132

We have already noted that in the Mysore Catalogue, against the entry Rasodārabhāṇa, this Aṇṇaya II is described as *Surapuram* Aṅṅayācārya. It is at this place called Surapuraṁ that these writers were staying, through they originally belonged to Bukkapaṭṭanam, a village in Jammalamaḍugu Tq. in Cudappa Dt.

The second son of Aṅṅaya II, namely Veṅkaṭācārya III, gives us important information in his Alamkāra kaustubha and Śṛṅgāra taraṅgiṇī. In the first verse of Alaṁkāra kaustubha, he salutes God Kṛṣṇa at Surapura ; and at a further stage, he tells us that he was the preceptor of the chief *Veṇkaṭa* the son of *Pāmi* who had the title '*Baharī*'.

श्रीमाननीय बहिरी विरुदाङ्क पामि- भूपालपुत्र वर वेंकटनायकस्य ।
स्वस्तिप्रशस्ति मपतो गुरुरेव कुर्वेऽलङ्कारकौस्तुभ मनन्य कृतोक्तिलक्ष्यम् ॥ M.T. 369.

He repeats this information in the prologue to his Śṛṅgāra taraṅgiṇī MT. 5439b and 5501.

" —बहिरी पाम नायक कुमार वेङ्कटापतिनायक महास्थान- पाण्डित्य गुरुत्वभूषणेन विरचितम् etc.

From the above references I got the data of a Kōsala line of chiefs at a place called Surapuram, a chief Veṅkaṭa son of Rāghava and a Veṅkaṭa again mentioned as son of Pāmināyaka who had the title 'Bahiri'. Of these chiefs, our authors were *gurus*.

At this stage, I happened to find a Telugu Ms. in the Madras Govt. Oriental Mss. Library, which from its title Surapura Rājula Vamsāvali, promised much useful information. My friend, Mr. M. Venkatarāmayya, was kind enough to read out and explain to me the contents of this Telugu Ms, which gave the history of exactly the same

family of Chiefs, I was after. I have given below a summary of the contents of this interesting document, with notes from other sources. The principality of Surapura figured much in the later history of Aurangazeb and as such, has been dealt with by Sir Jadunath Sircar in his History of Aurangazeb (Vol. V pp. 214 et seq). The last phase of the history of this state can be read in the account of Col. Meadows Taylor given in his book 'Story of My Life'. The Telugu Ms which contains the Kaifiyat Surapura Rājula Vaṁśāvali gives an account of the state from its origin; and is especially useful to us to identify and locate the Sanskrit writers and their patrons already noticed and to find out their dates.

Surapura (called Shorapur) is between the rivers Kṛṣṇā and Bhīma, at a short distance in the north from Kṛṣṇā and in a south westerly direction from Bijāpūr; at present it is in the Gulbarga Dt. of the Nizam dominions. The Telugu Kaifīyat tells us that the family of the Chiefs of Surapuram came to be called Kosalavaṁśa after their ancestor Kosalanātha. One of their old head-quarters in Mudugalsīmā was named Kosalapeṭa. This explains the name 'Kosala vaṁśa' mentioned by poets Aṇṇaya II and Śrīnivāsa II. We found that poet Veṅkaṭa III qualifies the chief Pāmināyaka by the title '*Bahirī*'. With reference to this title 'Bahirī', we find in the Telugu Ms. that one of the Kosala chiefs, Cinna Hanmi Nāyaka, attacked and conquered one *Bahirī* Vasatna Rao who was Desai at Mudugal and was minister under the Bijāpūr Pādushah and from that victory got for himself and his successors the title '*Bahirī*'.

The Kōsala chiefs were not, from their early days, having their headquarters at Surāpura. From the summary of the Rājavaṁśāvalī given below, it can be seen that it was a Pāmi Nāyaka, son of a Peda Nāyaka who founded Surapuram in A. D. 1713. This Pāmi died in 1740 and his son Peda Nāyaka succeeded him. Peda Nāyaka ruled for five years and died issueless in A. D. 1745. Peda Nāyaka's younger brother Muṇḍigai Veṅkaṭappa succeeded and ruled till A. D. 1751 when he died issuless. Muṇḍigai Veṅkaṭappa's grandfather was Pītāmbara Bahirī Peda Nāyaka, some other grandsons of this Pītāmbara were alive at the time of Mundigai Veṅkaṭappa's death. One of them, Ramaṇappa had a son called Pāmi; another agnate of Muṇḍigai Veṅkaṭappa available at that time was Madana gopala, son of a Kṛṣṇappa Nāyaka. While on his deathbed, Muṇḍigai Veṇkaṭappa called both Pāmi and Madanagopāla to his bedside. Madanagopāla had run away somewhere with his mother and so Pāmi, who turned up, succeeded to the Surapuram estate. Subsequently Madanagopāla attacked Pāmi but Pāmi succeeded to retain Surapuram.

The Telugu Kaifīyat describes the chiefs as born in the family of Guha, the hunter-devotee of Rāma. The Kaifīyat records that the chief named Pāmi Nāyaka, who stayed at Sahapuram and ruled for

ten years from A. D. 1678 to 1688, desired to have consecration into Vaiṣṇava faith and for this purpose sought Śaṅkhavaram S'rīnivāsācārya, an Ācārya of Anegondi to give him *Mudrā*.

Pāmi who succeeded to the state in 1752 A. D. after Muṇḍigai Veṅkaṭappa desired to have a similar *Dīkṣā* into Vaiṣṇavism. The descendent of Śaṅkhavaram Śrīnivāsācārya alive at that time was only a boy named Śrīnivāsa. This hereditary *guru* being not even an 'Upanīta', Pāmi sought a substitute Ācārya from *Bukkapaṭṭanam* in Auku sīmā (Avuku) near Gutti, south of the Tuṅgabhadrā. This substitute Ācārya was *Aṇṇayā* and he had a brother named *Ciṇṇaya*. These two were brought to Surapuram. This event was between the years A. D. 1760-66, for the Kaifīyat says that just at that time, between Fasli 1170 and 1176, the Maharattas over ran this part of the country and collected tribute from Surapuram.

Therefore the Bukkapaṭṭanam Aṇṇayācārya and Śrīnivāsācārya whose works we have noted and who describe themselves as court-poets and *gurus* of the Kosala chief Veṇkaṭa are identical with the Aṇṇaya and Cinnaya brought by Pāmi from Bukkapaṭṭana. Aṇṇaya's son Veṇkaṭacārya III describes himself as the *guru* of Veṅkaṭa Nāyaka son of Bahirī Pāmi Nāyaka. Pāmi who brought Aṇṇaya and Cinnaya ruled for twenty two years and died in A. D. 1773. He was succeeded by Veṅkaṭa born to him by his wife Timmammā. This Veṅkaṭa, son of Pāmi, was the twenty second chief of the line; he died in A. D. 1802, after ruling twenty eight years. Now, it is this twenty second chief Veṅkaṭa, son of Pāmi, who is mentioned by Aṇṇaya II, Śrīnivāsa II and Veṅkaṭācārya III. Aṇṇaya, we have seen, mentions in his Tattvaguṇādars'a that Veṅkaṭa was the son of 'Rāghava'. 'Rāghava' then must have been the 'Saṃskāra-namam' of Pāmi, Veṅkaṭa's father, given by Aṇṇaya when he administered the Vaiṣṇava dīkṣā to him.

All this would place our authors Veṅkaṭācārya II, Aṇṇayācārya II, S'rīnivāsācārya II, and Veṅkaṭācārya III (Kirīti Veṅkaṭācārya) and Veṅkaṭācārya IV (Bucci Veṅkaṭācārya) in the period between 1725 and 1825 with in which fall also the times of Pāmi (Rāghava) and Veṅkaṭa.[1]

1. Mr. M. Venkaṭarāmayya draws my attention to 3 Sanads in Mack. Ms. 15-3-44 in which there is the interesting information that Vīraṇarasimha (A.D. 1504-9 originally granted Bukkapaṭṭanam to S'rīs'aila Peddayārya, making that Agrahāra the seat of the donee's religious headship; and that this Sarvamānya of Bukkapaṭṭaṇam and other villages were lost to the donees twice owing to Muhammedan occupation and that two chiefs renewed the Sarvamānyas of the family in 1644 A.D. and 1674 A. D.

We have seen from the Surapura Rājula Vams'āvali how about 1760, when Pāmi of Surapuram requisitioned the services Aṇṇaya, the Ācārya was in the family seat Bukkapaṭṭanam.

SUMMARY OF THE SURAPURA RĀJULA VAMŚĀVALI.

[Mack enzil Ms. No. 38. Madras Govt. Oriental Mss. Library No. D. 2656 (Shelf No. 12—2—58)]

(With notes from other Sources)

This account is mentioned as forming part of the larger work called the Sampatkumarīya, also called Veṅkaṭa vilasa being dedicated as it is to Veṅkaṭa Vīra Raghava Kavi.

In the family of the hunter-devotee of Rama, Guha, was born king Parakala and in Parakala's line appeared king *Kōsalanātha*[1]. It is after this Kōsalanatha that this line of chiefs come to be known as *Kōsalāvamśa*.

Vīra Bommi Nāyaka was the 'mūlapuruṣa' of the Surapura saṁthana; he was holding the office of Sarades' in the country south of Krisṇa and Tuṅgabhadra, lower Timpati, Kañcī, Kalasapaka and Tiruvaṇṇamalai.

His son Śiṅgāppa alias *Narasimhanāyaka* inherited chiefship over Kañci, Kalas'apakka and Tiruṇṇamali.

His son *Vadiyara Nāyaka* alias *Vadiyarasa* enjoyed the same nivasasthalam as his father.

Kallappa the fourth Nayaka left Kañcī territory and migrated to Maralla town in Cudappa Dt. and become Sarades'mukhī there.

Kallāppa had seven sons, (1) Peda Hanminayaka, (2) Cina Hanmi n, (3) Immadi Hanmi n, (4) Mummadi Hanmi n, (5) Sarijang H.n, (6) Kari H.n, and (7) Billār Hanmi nayaka. This family renounced life becoming Jains and Des'ayars, and migrated to Tumbalam in Adoni Tq., Bellary Dt. They become local revenue officers of the Sirkar there.

Of these seven brothers, Nos. 6 and 7, *Kari Hanmi* and *Billu Hanmi* went to Tirupati.

Kallappa with his five other sons then went to Mudugal in Hyderabad where he came out successful in a fight with a fort-commander called Mustaph Khan. The latter sued for peace and granted Kallappa and his first five sons Mirasi and Sarades'i rights in Mudugal sīma. Kallappa and his sons formed a village in Mudugal sīma as their headquarters and called it *Kōsalapeta*.

After Kallappa's time, his five sons fell out. Peda Hanmi went away to the Koddekallu Palayagar in Hyderabad and got Mirasi under him; the third son went to Sondur and thence to Kosigi as Mirasi; Mummadi to Kolakūri on the banks of the Bhīma and from these to Bīdar fort, getting Mirasi from the Nawab; and Sanjang to Kaligi.

Ctnna Hanmi nāyaka, the second son went to Kakkeri on the Kṛṣṇa with 60 horses and 300 men. From there he attacked the Bijāpūr Sultan successfully. At that time one *Bahiri* Vasanta Rao was Desai at Mudugal, with his station at Devapuram. Cinna Hanmi conquered him and from that victory got the title '*Bahiri*' for himself and his successors. This Vasanta Rao was Chief Minister under the Bijapur Padushah.

Cinna Hanmi married Nagama and the following is a list of his successors.

Cinna Hanmi X Nagama

son *Hāvi nāyaka*

son *Peda Soma nāyaka* X Nagama

son *Yera Singa nāyaka* X Yellamma

son *Madiri nāyaka* X Venkamma

son *Vīra Tampi nāyaka* X Marutiyamma

son *Bale Soma nāyaka* X Kaṭamma and Gangamma

Kaṭamma gave birth to Gaddada Pami n, also called Peda Pami n, who married Kanakamma

2 sons

Desayi Zakkappa x Venkamma — Hutsu Somappa x Nañammā no issue

Gadde Lingi nayaka — Gadde Piddi nayaka

The Ms. says that the dates of the chief upto this are not known.

Gadde Lingi x 3 wives, Koṇḍā Nāgati, Bhogamma, and Timmammavva = 7 sons, Somappa, Zakkappa, Jedi Somappa, Pāmi, Guluca Somappa, Cina Somappa and Guddi Somappa.

Of these sons, the third, Jedi Somappa went away to Guḍiguṇṭa (on the Kṛṣṇa) and the rest stayed with their father.

Gadde Piddi n, the second son of Zakkappa married twice but had no issue, and as a remlt of a quarrel with his brother Gadde Lingi, he migrated to Viragotta (on the Kṛṣṇa), turned an adventurer and finally settled it Karakihalli in the Baicabala summut. This Karakihalli was also known as Vaginagiri.* Gadde Piddi still continued to quarrel with his brother, but their two

* Mentioned as Wagingera and Wakinkera in Muslim chronicles.

sisters settled the brothers' dispute, divided the Kakkeri mirasi between the two and made the issueless younger brother, Gadde Piddi, adopt one of his elder brother's seven sons, viz., Pāmi, the fourth.

Pāmi n. when he grew up, settled at Vāginagiri and married five wives. The two families became united and attacked together Sahapuram and defeated the khilledar of that place. The Bijāpūr Padushah, *Ādil Shah*, sent his Sirdars to fight Gadde Lingi, his brother and sons. The fight between the Padushah and these brothers went on for twelve years. *A peace treaty was then signed in Hijra 1075* = A. D. 1664-5 giving some territories to the brothers.

The account then gives a panegyric of Gadde Piddi n. The title 'Bahiri' is mentioned. After ruling 12 years at Sahapuram and 3 at Vāginagīri, *Gadde Piddi died in S'aka 1600, Kālayukti, A. D. 1678.*

Gadde Piddi was succeeded by his adopted son Pāmi n. who, himself having no issue for some time, adopted Peda Piddi n, son of his third elder brother, Gudiguṇṭa Jedi Somappa. This chief discovered a Gopālakṛṣṇa idol and consecrated it; himself desiring to become a S'rīvaiṣṇava, he sought *S'aṅkhavaram S'rīnivāsācārya*, an Ācarya of Ānegondi, who gave him Mudrā. This chief stayed at Sahapuram.

Aurangazeb sent a general against Pāmi n. and though Pāmi was almost defeated, he made a miraculous relay of his forces and won finally. At this time, a son named Cokkappa n. was born to Pāmi who had already adopted his brother's son, Peda Piddi, Aurangazeb[2] sent again three generals to take Pāmi n. to Delhi. Pāmi decided to go to Delhi, established Cokkappa at Vāginagiri and went to Delhi accompanied by his adopted son and other followers. Aurangazeb greatly honoured Pāmi and granted him Sardesgati mirasi on a kist of Rs. 50,000.

The Ms. says that the date of this event is not known.

As he was returning from Delhi' he became the victim of the foulplay of the wife of an old muhammadan foe of his. *Pāmi ruled on the whole for 10 years and died in S'aka 1610 Vibhava, A. D. 1688.*

His adopted son Peda Piddi was a hostage at Delhi for the kist of Rs. 50,000; and so Cokkappa succeeded Pāmi. There was none to free Peda Piddi, but Aurangazeb himself released him after a time and sent him to South India with all honours. Pedda Piddi camped at a place called Bennihāla and sent word to his brother Cokkappa and his mother asking for a share of the Mirasi. Cokkappa who had now ruled for 7 years (1695 A. D.) was superceded by Peda Piddi; Cokkappa was imprisoned, but he escaped and became an exile.[3]

Pedda Piddi n., briefly called Ped Nāyaka, married five wives and had also five companion-wives. He defied Aurangazeb

and refrained from paying kist. Aurangazeb himself now led an attack on Ped Nāyaka's place, Vāginagiri. Ped Nāyaka employed the services of a Mahratta named Hindu Rao Ghorpade and his huge army. When Aurangazeb found that he could not capture Vāginagiri even after three months fight, he bribed Hindu Rao Ghorpade with a lakh of rupees to betray Ped Nāyaka. Learning this, Ped Nāyaka, with his family, and a few followers left for Guḍigoṇṭa where his agnate Lingi n. was ruling. Ped n. and Lingi n. however soon left Guḍigoṇṭa and retired to Gāzulatinne where they were opposed by officials of Devadurga, namely Vāsudeva Nāyaka and his son Peda kili...n. who were friends of Aurangazeb. A battle followed and Ped n. and party fled. Aurangazeb raged Vāginagiri and the Gopalaswāmi temple and mutilated the idols. With the ruins he built a mosque and slaughtered cows there, as testified by a Persian inscription on the gate of the mosque dated Hijra 1110, A. D. 1699.[4]

After a long time Ped n. and party took refuge at Regani, south of the Tungabhadrā. Meantime Aurangazeb died and his army in Deccan got scattered.[5] Ped n. and Lingi n. thereupon recaptured Vāginagiri, raged the mosque and rebuilt the Gopālasvāmi temple.[6] Ped n. adopted the name Pītāmbara to show his devotion to Viṣṇu and rose to great fame.[7]

Ped n.'s son was Pāmi n. who married Rukmammā, daughter of the old enemy Vāsudeva n. of Devadurga. *It is this Pāmi n. that settled at Hasanāpuram and in the neighbourhood of the mountains there, he founded the town and fort of SURAPURAM in Śaka 1635 Vijaya, A. D. 1713.* The family's capital henceforward became Surapuram, and from there, they ruled their estate called *Sāgaramaṇḍalam.**

The family had connections with Tirupati from Kallappa's days; the Ms. then gives a list of the temples they had at Tirupati.

A list is then given of the issues of Pītāmbara Bahiri Ped n. by his five wedded wives and five companion-wives. From Fasli 1145, Pītāmbara was paying Rs. 40,000 kist to the Nizam. In all, Ped n. Pītāmbara ruled for 30 years: 7 years in struggle with Aurangazeb, loss of estate, pilgrimage to Tirupati and Rāmeśvaram, and 20 years at Surapuram. He died in Śaka 1647 Viśvāvasu, A. D. 1725.

His son *Pāmi n.* had succeeded even during his father's time. Pāmi was a great warrior. Pāmi n. had two sons, Peddi n. and Mundigai Venkaṭappa n. Pāmi also was paying kist to Nizam and sending presents to Tirupati. He thus ruled for 15 years and died in Śaka 1662 Raudri, A. D. 1740.

Peddi n. his son, succeeded, married Satyammā, ruled for 5 years and died in 1667 Krodhana, A. D. 1745 without any issue.

* Given as Sagar in Muslim Chronicles which assign Wagingera also to Sagar

His younger brother *Mundigai Veṅkaṭappa* succeeded. He served in the army of Nazir Zung at Pondichery* and then returned to Golkoṇḍa along with Salavat Zung, through Gutti and Adoni. At Golkoṇḍa, minister Rāja Rāmacandra showed him many favours. He then remained at Surapuram till he died in S'. 1673 Prajotpatti, A. D. 1751, after a total rule of 6 years.

He had no child and was succeeded by *Pāmi*, son of Ramaṇappa, a grandson of Pītambara Bahiri Ped n. There was another grandson of Pītambara Ped n. namely Madanagopala, son of Kṛṣṇappa n.; he had run away with his mother, though he was also called to the bedside when Mundigai Veṅkaṭappa was dying. The two grandsons, Pāmi and Madanagopala were always in fight; Pāmi finally succeeded in retaining Surapuram.

Pāmi thought of initiation in Vaiṣṇavism and sought the service of the small boy *S'rīnivāsācārya*, descendent of the family *guru* S'aṅkhavaram S'rīnivāsācārya. The boy was not even an 'Upanīta and hence another Ācārya had to be sought for a preliminary Mudradhāraṇa. *This substitute Ācārya was in BUKKAPAṬṬANAM in Avuku Sīmā, near Gutti, South of Tungabhadrā.*:: *His name was AṆṆAYĀCĀRYA and he had a brother CINNAYA. These two were brought to Surapuram* and Annaya gave Mudrā to Pāmi.

About this time, the Mahrattas overran this part of this country and collected tribute from Surapuram between Fasli 1170 to 1176. (AD. 1760-6) The Ms. gives the details of the amounts paid to the Mahrattas.

Pāmi had married Timmammā and had a son, Veṅkaṭappa n. Pāmi ruled for 22 years and died in Jaya 1695, A.D. 1773.

The son, *Veṅkaṭappa*, succeeded. He was the 22nd chief of the line. From Nizam Ali Khan, he got the titles Balavant Bahiri, Roh Bazang, Musafar Dowla, Babaram Mulk, Bahadur. In fasli 1189, (A.D 1779) Mahrattas again levied tribute on the Surapuram estate. Veṅkaṭappa had nine wives and five companions.

In Sāka 1711 (A. D. 1789), Sādhārana, S'rāvaṇa, Veṅkaṭappa annexed the fort of Devagiri, which belonged to his maternal uncle, exercising his right as Dauhitra. He was aided in this by Nizam Ali-Khan the King and his Dewan, Mashir-ul-mulk.

Veṅkaṭappa's third wife Narasimhamma gave birth to a son Bāpu Sāhib. who married Kes'amma, daughter of Kṛṣṇappa n. of Tādimaṛṛi. The Ms. then gives an eulogy of Bāpu Sāhib. From a description we understand that Bāpu Sāhib was also known as Veṅkaṭa or Cinna Veṅkaṭappa n. His mothers called him Bāpu Sāhib in endearment. A 'Dharmiṣṭha' from boyhood, Bāpu died in his 18th year.

* This attack on Pondichery took place in A. D. 1750.

:: As present in Jammalamadugu Tq of Cadappa Dt.

The Ms. then gives an eulogy of Bāpu's father, Pedda Venkaṭappa. Just about this time the Ceded Dts. were ceded by the Nizam to the English and the Polegars of the Ceded Dts, unable to stay under the English, took refuge in Surapuram.* Some of them are Ankappa nāyaka of Tallibollipalli, Buggappa, Kṛṣṇappa of Tāḍimaṟṟi and his son Rāmappa. Veñkaṭappa arranged for the stay of these Polegars.

In Fasli 1206, he annexed the estate of his agnate Guḍiguṇṭa but after nine months, Soma linga nāyaka of Gudiguṇṭa obtained Mahratta help and regained Gudiguṇṭa. Peda Veṅkaṭappa then helped the Nizam with forces in the Nizam's campaign against Bādāmi. Till Fasli 1209 he was paying tributes to the Nizam and the Mahrattas. Every year, he made presents to the Tirupati temple. He ruled on the whole for 28 years, 3 months and 15 days and died in S'. 1724 Dundubhi, Āṣāḍha s'uddha 15th, (A.D. 1802.)

The *23rd* Surapuram chief was his own wife Kāṭavvā who was helped by the minister Jamadarka Timmappa. After administering for 4 months and 19 days, she bestowed the estate on one of the collaterals of the family, Pidi nāyaka, in S'aka 1724 (A.D. 1802) Dundubhi, Mārgas'īrṣa, s'uddha 4th.

The *24th* chief *Pidi n*, who assumed change the next day, was the son of Madana Gopāla n. Through Kāṭavva's advices Timmappa initially opposed Pidi n., but the two soon became friends.

There were many troubles and intrigues during Pidi n.'s time. The three parties in the intrigues were the Nizam, the British Resident Sydenham with Mr. Palmer* and the Mahrattas, chiefly Mahīpati Ram. In Fasli 1214, (A.D. 1804) Pidi n. built for himself a syloom fortress, Vanadurga, 7 miles southwest of Surapuram and stayed there.

His wife was Veṅkamāmbā, elder sister of Koṇḍalanāyaka of Pyāpali Saṁsthāna in Kurnool Dt. They had three sons Venkaṭa, Sītārāma and Cina Veṅkaṭa and three daughters Peda Veṅkaṭāmba, Cina Venkaṭāmbā and Mangamāmba. The three daughters were married respectively to Ratnagiri Nandirājappa, Pyāpalli Rāghappa and Tyadageri Rangappa. The first son, Venkaṭa married two wives, Cinnamma from Pyāpalli family and Rangamma, adopted daughter of Bahiri Venkaṭappa. Besides these, a companion of Pidi n. bore him three sons and three daughters and all these got married.

* The Ceded Dts. were ceded to the English in 1800. Major-Gen. Munro was ... their first Collector. He drove out many Polegars. See Munro, *Memoris ... Notes*, LXXI.

* Thomas Sydenham, Resident at Hyderabad 1806-10. William Palmer 1780- ..., founded in 1814 Palmer & Co., a great banking house at Hyderabad which finished up in a financial ruin.

In Fasli 1214 (A.D. 1804-5), when Pidi n. had gone to his estates in Bijāpūr to collect revenue, the troops of Bāji Rao Peshwa plundered Pidi's territory.

Pidi n. was pious and munificant; he conducted many festivals, read Rāmāyaṇa and Bhārata and gave protection to some refugee-chiefs from the Ceded Dts. He granted Agrahāras to Brāhmaṇas and when he went to Poona, his S'rāvaṇa Dakṣiṇa to Brahmaṇas there cost him Rs. 10,000. He paid the Nizam a tribute of Rs. 86,666 and the Mahrattas, Rs. 14,000. He ruled for 15 years, 4 months and 5 days and died in S'. 1740, Bahudhānya, Caitra s'uddha 10th (A.D. 1818.)

The 25th chief was Piḍi's eldest son, *Venkaṭappa n. Baramba Bahiri* who patronised Brāhmanas and on the occasion of his coronation paid to Rāja Chandūlal, Dewan of Nizam, seven lākhs of Nazarana (presents.) *This 25th chief was the ruler at the time of the compilation of this record. At this time, the chief was 35 years old.*

In Fasli 1227 (A.D. 1817-8) Phalguṇa, Suddha, 15th, Col. Munro occupied the Bijāpūr territory, annexing it from the Mahrattas and appropriated for the English the dues which the Surapuram chief used to collect.

This 25th chief, Venkaṭappa had two wives, Cinnāmba and Rangamāmba and had, by both, seven sons and five daughters, Kṛiṣṇaprabhu. Piddināyaka, Pāma-nṛpala, Madāna Gopāla and Vāsudēva were the five sons of Rangamāmba. Cinnamāmba had two sons, Hanmi-prabhu and another. At the time of the compilation of this record none of these, sons or daughters, had married.[8]

Of these 25 chiefs, 13 were in Kakkeri Mirasi, the 14th chief came to *Sagararājya or Sagaramaṇḍala i.e., Surapuram.* The 15th served under Sikhander Khader Adil Adi Shah of Bijāpūr and obtained extensive jagirs in Hijra 1075, (A.D. 1664 July.)

The compilar of the record says that the difference between Fasli and Hijra seems to be nine years but that he is not quite sure of it.

From that date (1664 A.D. July), the estate is called Sagaramaṇḍala; it is situate in the present Sirtābad Sarkar between the Kṛṣṇa and Bhīmarathi rivers the author then gives the boundaries or extent of this estate : the region east and south of the Kṛṣṇa and then to the south east of the same river inclusive of Arekere, another name not clear in the Ms, Kyadagere, Devadurga and Janihalli. The Ms. then gives a list of the Taluqs and villages of the whole estate. The total number of villages is 700 of which Surapuram division alone consists of 540 villages; of these 540, 115 were granted as Agraharas, Jagirs etc. Of these 115, Sarvāgrahāras were given to Ahobalasvāmi, Parakāla Brahmatantrasvāmi of Mysore, Rāghavēndra......swāmi, Satyadharma Svāmi Vidyādhīs'a tirthasvāmi, Yatiparāṅkus'a svāmi, *Rājaguru* Venkaṭacārya of Bukkapaṭṭaṇam (the Sarvāgrahāra given

to him is *cikku Hayāl* Agrahāra in Hommanūr S'ammut), Pommālasvāmi, Nandela Rāghavācāri, Maratāda Rāghavāchāvi, Gorderal Anantacāri, Pyāpalli Śeṣacāri *Rājaguru* Sankhavaram Kṛṣṇamācāri Buccayācāri, Veṅkaṭaramaṇācāri, *Rajavidyaguru* Trivedi Varadacāri, Trivedi Rāghavācāri, *Rājapurohita* Bāgatikoṭa Rāgahappa, Pūjāri Gopālayya, Payacari and Motigiri Gosāyi.

Other village grants were to Chettis, Muhammadans and Jangams; to representatives of Viṭṭhalācārya and Śrīnivāsācārya; to Subrahmaṇyācārya, Kamasamudram Appalācāri, Pallipāda Kes'avayya-*teacher of the princes*, Kanthavīṇai S'rīnivāsācāri, Bhāṣyam Venkatācāri, Virupākṣa Śankara Bhārati, Amalāpuram Hammantadeva, Sātāni Lokayya and a musician named Venkatacari.

A series of Jagirs given to the chief relatives is then given.

The chiefs of Surapura patronised both Hindu and Muhammadan festivals, and examined and honoured poets, musicians and dancers.

The Ms. then gives an account of the soil produce of the estate, of the highway robbery prevailing there and the facilities for travel.

There are a number of Brāhmaṇas of the Prathama S'ākhā (S'ukla-Yājus) in the Surapuram estate employed as revenue collectors.

In the time of the 22nd chief, Veṅkaṭappa, a Brāhmaṇa of the Prathama-sākhā went to Udipi, received Mudrā and took the name Mādhava-tīrtha. This Mādhavat-īrtha was succeeded by Viṣṇutirtha, he by Akṣobhyatīrtha, and the last by Vidyādhīsatirtha, the contemporary of the chronicler. These ṭīrthas had their Maṭha at Vīraghoṭṭa on the Kṛṣṇa and called themselves the *gurus* of the Prathama-s'ākhā Brāhmaṇas and got a village from the Surapuram chiefs. During the time of Col. Munro, Mādhava tīrtha travelled the Bellary Dt. and was obstructed by Jaya Veṅkaṭācāryasvāmi of Rāghavendrasvāmi Maṭha; Vidyādhīs'a last his insignia to Jaya Veṇkaṭācāryaswami; as a result, there was a litigation between these two Svāmis which was referred to Col. Munro (Dt. Collector of Bellary). The case came to Madras where one Jivan Rao secured success for Madhava tirtha's Mutt and got back the insignia.

Thus finishes the kaifīyat of the Surapuram Samsthāna.

NOTES.

1. Sarkar, Aurangazeb, Vol. V. p. 214. These people are a race of Kanarese aboriginals called Berads; their name Berad means 'hunter'.

2. Sarkar, Aurangazeb, Vol. V. pp. 216-7. Pām (i. e. our Pāmi) Nayak was attacked by an imperial army in *November 1687* and, defeated, was made to visit Aurangazeb's court where he died in a few days. Sarkar mentions Bijāpūr as the place where Pāmi waited on Aurangazeb whereas our Kaifīyat mentions Delhi as the place.

Elliot Dowson: History of India as told by its own Historians; Muhammadan Period, Vol. VII, p. 377: Pem Naik (our Pāmi n), at the time of the war with Hyderabad, sent his forces to the aid of Abu-l Hasan. Pādshāh Khānzyāda Khān, son of Rūhu-llah khān was sent to subdue Pāmi at Sagar and occupy his fortresses. Pāmi submitted and came to wait on the emperor, but soon hastened back to his home. (Muntakhabu-l Lubab of Muhammad Hashim, Khafi Khan).

3. This Chōkkappa is the Jagna, Jagia and Jikiya of the Muslim historians. Elliot Dowson: Vol. VII. p. 378 and Jagna, son of Pem, also heir to the property, came to the court, was given mansab and a Zamindari, went with an army to Wakinkera (Vāgingiri of our kaifīyat), but could not get in; he fought, but was defeated. According to Ma-asir-i' Alamgiri, Vol. II. p. 492, Parya (Peda Piddi, of our kaifīyat) expelled Jikiya, son of Pem from his inherited lands.

4. Elliot Dowson, Vol. VII. pp. 377-9: In the 32nd year of the reign of Aurangazeb (1688), when Rūhu-llah Khan senior was sent to reduce Raichur, and when the royal court was at Ahmedabad before the Bijāpur affair, Parya or Pidiya (our Peda Piddi) nephew (and adopted son also) of Pāmi nāyaka, seeing the great power of Aurangazeb, came to his court and received a mansab. Piddi accompanied Rūhu llah to Raichur and was of help to him. After the campaign, Piddi was sent back to Wakinkera (Vāginagiri) on the understanding that he would be ready to come along with a force whenever called up. This Wakinkera is in Sagar. The native soldiers are famed for skill in archery and missiles. Piddi strengthened himself well and externally showing himself very subordinate to the emperor, began to defy the latter and ally himself with the Maharattas. Prince Muhammad Azam was then sent to punish Piddi and the Moghul forces ravaged Piddi's territory. Piddi again offered tribute of 7 lakhs and made peace but as soon as the Moghul army departed, began defying the emperor. Therefore, to put him down finally. Aurangazeb himself went against Wakinkera in A. D. 1704-5, in the 49th year of his reign. Piddi was about to be defeated when the Maharatta forces of 8 to 9 thousands under Jadu and Hindu Rao came. Piddi employed a trick by sending out his younger brother on a peace proposal as the future Zamindar, and spreading a false report that he himself had turned delirious and fled: Aurangazeb was thoroughly cheated by this, but Wakinkera soon fell and was burnt.

See also Sirkar, Aurangazeb, Vol. pp. 219-234, for a detailed description of this seige of Wagingera. "Wagingera was captured, but its chieftain had escaped and lived to give trouble to the victors". Ibid p. 233.

5. Aurangazeb died in 1707 A. D. in 51st year of his reign.

6. **Elliot Dowson, Vol. VII. p. 390. On Aurangazeb's death, Piddi nāyak recaptured** Wakinkera; thereupon prince **Kām Baksh** waged a 15 days' war against Piddi; in the end, through Ahsan **Khan,** Piddi was made to come to terms.

7. For the further doings of Piddi, see Sarkar, Aurangazeb, V, pp. 233-4, f. n: 1706 – Piddi and Hindu Rao capture Penukoṇḍa and make its Mughal qiladar a prisoner. In the same year, Sarafraz Khan, helped by Jagia or Chokkappa whom Piddi had ousted, chased Piddi. July, 1706 – Mahrattas threaten Wagingera. Jan. 1707, Civil war between Dhana and Hindu Rao, and Piddi deserts the latter, his ally, and joins the former.

8. Meadows Taylor, 'Story of My Life', chapters VII ff., give an account of the Shorapur estate from 1841 A.D.

According to the Treaty of 1800 between the Nizam and the English, the latter had to mediate whenever the Shorapur chief withheld payment of his tribute to the Nizam. The Nizam was unjustifiably increasing these tributes and the state was too poor to fear these fantastic tributes.

Rāja Kṛṣṇappa nāyaka of Surapuram died suddenly. He had three queens; the eldest Īśvaramma became regent to her son who was about 7 years old. Rāja Kṛṣṇappa had a brother Piḍi Nāyaka whom the English desired to be the regent. against the will of the queen. And the queen had a great following.

Gen. Fraser was then Resident at Hyderabad. It was at this juncture that M. Taylor was sent to Shorapur to bring things to order. Taylor succeeded in wresting power from the queen, but to the end she continued to defy English power. Pid nāyaka whom the English selected and whose son was intended to be adopted by the late Kṛṣṇappa before the latter got a son through his first queen, turned a drunkard. (ch. VII). 1841-2.

The young prince Enkaṭappa (Veṅkaṭappa ?) for whom Pid nāyaka was regent was educated aud brought up by Taylor. Taylor speaks of infructuous conspiracies to murder himself and the young prince. Taylor improved the revenues of the state. (ch. VIII. 1843-4).

Piḍi Nāyaka died on August 8th 1845. Taylor acted more or less like regent. (ch. IX. 1845)

The prince's sister was married to the Rāja of Soondee near Madras in March 1847. In January 1848, Lord Dalhousie became Governor-General. Early in 1848, Taylor had got the queen-mother out of the estate, but on the 20th May 1850, she came back. (ch. XI. 1847-50).

In October 1852, being 18 years, Venkaṭappa was to be made king. The general desire was that Taylor should be the English agent at Shorapur at the cost of Shorapur but the state could not bear such

a big appointment. In the latter part of 1852, Gen. Fraser resigned and left Hyderabad. Col. Low, who succeeded him, reached Hyderabad only in March 1853. (ch. XI.)

The queen-mother, Īśvaramma, died on May 27th 1853, in her 40th year.

On June 30th 1858, Prince Venkāṭappa was proclaimed king. He is said to have grown erratic and uncontrollable after that. Soon after coronation, Taylor went away elsewhere on other duty.

In 1858 there was a general rising against the English in which the young Rāja joined. He attacked an English force, was defeated and as he was running in the direction of Hyderabad, was captured and imprisoned at Secunderabad. Taylor was now asked to go to Shorapur to set matters aright. Owing to his intervention the capital sentence on the Raja was reduced considerably, *i.e.* to four years imprisonment. But as the prince was being led to the place of imprisonment, he shot himself dead.

REVENUE ADMINISTRATION OF THE NORTHERN CIRCARS.

DR. LANKA SUNDARAM, M. A., Ph. D.

CHAPTER IV.

DIRECT MANAGEMENT AND THE FIRST COMMITTEE OF CIRCUIT (1769—1779).

"In 1769...the management of the Circars was placed in the hands of the Company's Servants, of certain provincial chiefs and councils who had no administrative knowledge of experience or any kind and could not talk the...languages with more fluency or correctness than a cadet in the first year of his inexperience or a Chief Justice at the end of his career. But the condition of affairs before their interference had been so irredeemably bad that they could not introduce greater disorder into the administration or greater misery among the people"

Kaye : *The Administration of the East India Company. (1853).*

In June 1769 a remarkable change was introduced into the administration of the Northern Sarkars. Apart from the appointment of provincial chiefs and councils, the revenue business of the government was no longer transacted in the already overworked military department, but transferred to the more leisurely civil department.[1] As a result of this departmentalisation of revenue business, the Madras Government undertook the direct management of the revenue affairs in the Sarkars.[2]

The primary object of the Madras government in undertaking the direct management of the Sarkars was to place the revenue affairs on a profitable basis. They had realised that the country had passed through a decade of anarchy, misrule and oppression. They had also realised that the financial commitments of the Company had become heavier and that it was high time to find out the means of making the possession of the Sarkars a profitable commercial proposition. Thus, they tabulated the revenue resources of the Sarkars in juxtaposition with the Military charges entailed in their realisation.[3]

1. *Pub. Cons.* 9 June, 1769. Vol. 28, pp. 367-70.

2. For the sake of convenience the revenue affairs of the Chicacole Sarkar during the period 1769 1774 have been reviewed in the previous chapter, on account of the fact that direct management had been attempted in that Sarkar, earlier than in the three middle Sarkars, and that special military measures had to be taken to reduce it to subjection.

3. *Milit. Cons.* 25 April 1769. Vol. 64. pp. 284-87.

Revenue and Expenditure of the four Northern Sarkars. (1769—1770)
(In Madras Pagodas).

Sources.	Revenue.	Civil and military charges.
Masulipatam Farms	1,09,785	41,223
Rajahmundry, Ellore and Mustafanagar Sarkars.	3,00,000	65,000
Military charges paid by Hussain Ali and Jogi Pantulu for the above Sarkars.	72,000	
Chicacole and Kasimkota	1,80,000	3,11,243
Military charges paid by Akkaji for the above	75,000	
Bendamurlanka farm	3,630	3,500
Vizagapatam farm.	4,273	10,400
Total Madras Pagodas.	7,44,688	4,31,866

This statement shows that the civil and military charges alone consumed half of the revenue of the Sarkars. But the visible surplus of three lakhs of Pagodas was turned into an annual deficit of two lakhs of Pagodas since the Company had to pay to the Nizam a *peshkush* of five lakhs of Pagodas a year which was "chargeable to the revenues of the Circars".[1]

The Court of Directors took a very strong view of the revenue position of the Sarkars. In a lengthy dispatch dated 23rd March 1770 they wrote: "It is with concern we find that the revenues of the Northern Circars are by no means answerable to the expectations we had formed from the statement of them .... We must indeed acknowledge that the possession of the Northern Circars and the troubles that have since ensued in the Deccan, while they augmented your charges, may also have prevented your revenues from operating to their full extent. Yet in every light it is indispensably requisite for you to reduce your expenses as far as is consistent wtih the safety of our possessions".[2]

With the receipt of this despatch a new orientation was given to the revenue policy of the Madras government, particularly with reference to the Northern Sarkars. Henceforward, they ceased to

1. *Madras Dispatches.* 23 March 1770 (further letter) para. 77. Vol. IV. p. 1,062

2. *Idem*. paras. 46 and 78. *idem* pp. 955 and 989-90 respectively.

Earlier, the Court of Directors wrote: "The Northern Circars have been attended with an expense nearly equal to the amount of one year's revenue. *Idem* 17 March 1769. *Idem*. pp. 556 57.

attempt a regime of military prowess and punitive expeditions, even though an occasional demonstration of the Company's authority was called for and justified. On the contrary, they embarked upon a period of peaceful administration, when an earnest effort was made to get into touch with the zamindars and renters, contact with cultivators being reserved for a later date; when the principle of investigation was substituted for that of prompt and drastic chastisement; when attempts at political predominance were subordinated to considerations of material prosperity.

Wynch's settlement at Rajahmundry. 1769-70.

The determination of the Madras government directly to administer the Northern Sarkars resulted in the leasing, as a temporary measure, of the three middle Sarkars for one year.[1] As a consequence, the *haveli* lands of Ellore and Mustafanagar were leased to Apparao raja of Nuzividu and his brother Narayya at *M. Ps.* 15,500. Those of the Rajahmundry Sarkar were leased to Timmaji for *M. Ps.* 7,000. Three more villages in the Mustafanagar were rented by Jafar Beg at *M. Ps.* 2,150. All these rents were clear of all charges.[2]

After the lease of the *haveli* lands, Alexander Wynch, Chief of Masulipatam, toured the three Sarkars with a view to acquire a competent knowledge of their revenue position. For the first time in the history of the Company's administration of this area, he established personal contacts with the individual zamindars.[3] At Rajahmundry he carried through a settlement of the *jamābandi* for the year 1769-1770. The results of the settlement, full details of which are not available, may be summed up as follows :[4]

Revenues of the Middle Sarkars. 1769-70.

Jamabandi of the zamindars clear of all charges.	*M. Ps.*	5,10,291
Rent of the *haveli* lands, clear of all charges.		24,650
	Total.	5,34,941
Medium of the previous triennial rent paid by Hussain Ali and Jogi Pantulu.		3,44,666
Net advantage on account of direct management.	*M. Ps.*	1,90,275

1. *Pub. Cons.* 23 June 1769. Vol. 28, p. 386.

2. *Masulipatam to Madras.* 1 and 2 July, Nos. 109 and 110. *idem.* 11 July, *idem*, pp. 468-69.

See also *Madras Letters Received*, 16 September 1769 (Bourchier), para. 12. Vol.IV,

3. *Madras Letters Received.* 31 January 1770. (Bourchier). para. 57. Vol. IV.

This is the only source of information in the records. The public and military consultations are silent on Wynch's settlement at Rajahmundry.

4. *Idem.* para. 109.

I had to make one correction in the figures. Jafar Beg's rent was not originally included in the statement.

This statement illustrates the immediate financial benefits which the Company received from the first and, naturally, the most tentative direct settlement of the Middle Sarkars. This increase of nearly two lakhs of Pagodas was the result of economies effected in the internal administration of the country, especially by the elimination of the renters' fees and profits. On the other hand, despite the fact that details of the settlement are wanting to support this contention, there must have been an augmentation of the tribute of the various zamindars who generally were only too willing to acquiesce in a regime that promised peace and prosperity.

Wynch's settlement at Rajahmundry for 1770 was smooth and produced quick results. The zamindars and renters quickly paid their *kists* in approved *sahukar tips*. He was able to induce Tirupati Razu, raja of Mugallaturu to stand security for the revenues of the zamindaries of Gutala, Polavaram and Telikancharla whose finances were unstable.[1] During his short stay at Rajahmundry M. Ps. 2,45,698 of the current *jamabandi* were realised and the remaining M. Ps. 2,64,592 were adequately guaranteed.

The zamindari of Pithapuram was the only exception to this settlement. Since Niladri Rao was unable to provide *sahukar* security for the *jamabandi*, Wynch adopted the unprecedented yet salutary measure of obtaining undertakings from the renters of "sub-tenants" of the raja. This is the only instance which I have so far found recorded where the Madras government went beyond the chief-renters and zamindars and got into touch with a larger body of people more closely connected with the actual cultivators.[2] Also for the first time, Wynch appointed *thanadars*[3] to secure the produce of the zamindaries of Nandigama, Bezwada, Munagala, Lingagiri and Medur Gattu since the security offered by them was unreliable.[4]

1. *Masulipatam to Madras*. 18 January 1770. No. 27. *Pub. Cons.* 13 February, Vol. 29. pp. 77-80.

2. It is regrettable that details of this arrangement are not available in the records.

3. A *thanadar* was originally a petty military officer taking orders from the *fauzdar* of a district. In the Sarkars, according to the usage of the period, he was an officer in Charge of the headquarters of a small division. He commanded a small force and not only protected the country under his charge but also enforced payment of the revenue, He was the predecessor of the tahsildar of the present day, appointed to each *taluk* in the Sarkars. Even at the present day, the zamindars appoint *thanadar* for the realisation of their revenues notwithstanding the fact that his original, military and police functions dropped away.

4. *Wynch to Madras*. Rajahmundry, 27 February, 1770. No, 44, *Pub. Cons.* 10 March, Vol. 29, p. 216.

After a three months tour through the three middle Sarkars, Wynch returned to Masulipatam. The Madras government entirely approved of his measures with the exception of the special indulgence given to Pithapuram with which a triennial settlement had been concluded. On this concession the views of the Madras government, who were naturally cautious on taking up the direct management of the Sarkars, are very interesting. They suspected that the longer time allowed to Niladri Rao might "give him an opportunity of encroaching on the revenues of the succeeding years and that he will, by that means, continue distressed and never be able to complete his payments".[1] The settlement at Rajahmundry at once raised the question of the balances due from the several zamindars to Hussain Ali and Jogi Pantulu. These balances had been guaranteed to the latter by the government before it entered upon the direct management of the three middle Sarkars. Still, whether they were due to an excessive rental or to the bad management of the countries, they insisted on the realisation of the current *jama* before the renters could be indemnified.[2]

The Du Pre government inaugurated certain regulations for the better management of the *haveli* lands. While thoroughly discouraging adventurous bidding for the lease of these lands, they deemed it essential that *sahukar* security should be demanded from the renters with a view effectively to secure the government's revenues. The periodical *kists* of the renters were continued as before, but in case of default on the part of a renter and after the expiry of one month's grace, his effects were made answerable for any deficiency in the revenue. The renters were particularly directed to pay attention to the repair of tanks and water-courses in their farms. Special provisions were made in the case of the salt farms. When the rent of a salt farm expired, the old renter was given the option of paying part of the final *kist* in salt with the previous consent of the chief of Masulipatam. The Masulipatam farms were then leased for M. Ps. 1,43, 255.[3]

The first year of the direct administration of the Sarkars was not totally unruffled by disturbances. Any sudden transition from

1. *Pub. Cons.* 10 March, Vol. 29. p. 217.
See also *Masulipatam to Madras*, 28 March, No. 71. *idem.* 10 April, *idem* p. 306.

2. *Wynch to Madras*, Rajahmundry, 21 March 1770. No. 90. *idem.* 4 May, *idem.* pp. 368-69.

3. *Masulipatam to Madras*, 17 May. No. 105. *Pub. Cons.* 25 May. Vol. 30, pp. 508-17.

See also *Madras Letters Received.* (Du Pre) 29 September 1770. paras 46-47; 6 February 1771. (Milit) (Du Pre) para 22, and 25 March 1771 (Milit) (Du Pre) para 2, Vol. V.

one mode to another was sure to evoke considerable unrest. The first instance of the complicated nature of the zamindari business, which had not been fully revealed under the rentership of Hussain Ali and Jogi Pantulu, came to light in the case of the Totapalli zamindari, a tributary of the Peddapuram zamindari in the Rajahmundry Sarkar. Rajanna Dora, the zamindar, was refractory and refused payment of his *jamabandi*.[1] At the instigation of Raghava Razu, the *diwan* of Peddapuram, the Chief of Masulipatam marched a detachment into Totapalli which occupied the zamindari, and made an example of him.[2]

Disturbances in Totapalli.

But it was soon found out that there was no truth in the allegations against the Dora, and that the Chief of Masulipatam had been deceived by the intrigues of the raja and *diwan* of Peddapuram. The government "wished [that] the expedition had not been undertaken", but still they could not retrace their steps "without a risque of lessening our authority in the eyes of the Zamindars". At first they tried to mollify Rajanna Dora's feelings,[3] but on his refusal to accept any tardy reparation for the injuries inflicted upon him coercion was used and he was hounded from place to place.[4]

When the government realised at last the grave injustice they had done to Rajanna Dora, and offered to restore him to his zamindari,[5] the aggrieved Rajanna rejected the offer and systematically plundered the country.[6] In this he was believed to have had the support of Sitarama Razu, whose power in the Chicacole Sarkar had now reached its zenith. Since matters seemed to have reached the culminating point, the Madras government realised that until Raghava Razu had been punished no settlement of the affairs in the Rajahmundry Sarkar would be possible. Hence they ordered his arrest,[7] while they directed the Vizagapatam Council to caution Sitarama Razu against any further participation in the troubles created by Rajanna Dora.[8] Capt. Madge's detachment took possession of Samalkota and Raghava Razu was severely

1. *Same to same.* 8 April 1770, No. 77. *Milit Cons.* 10 April, Vol. 67 pp. 91-92.
2. *Same to same.* 14 May, No. 103. *idem,* 16 May, *idem* p. 126
3. *Masulipatam to Madras,* 29 May 1770, No. 113, *Milit, Cons,* 4 June. Vol, 67, pp, 150-53,
4. *Same to same,* 10 June, *idem* pp, 175-76, See also, *Raja of Peddapuram to Madras. Country Correspondences,* No. 138, undated, *ibid.*
5. *Masulipatam to Madras,* 19 July, No, 135, *idem,* 30 July. *idem,* pp, 228-29,
6. *Wynch to* Madras, Rajahmundry 7 February, 1771, *idem* 11 February, Vol. 69 pp, 71-73,
7. Madras *to* Masulipatam, 20 February, idem, pp, 83-84,
8. Madras *to Vizagapatam, idem,* pp, 84-85,

reprimanded. A settlement was then concluded, by which Rajanna Dora was restored to his zamindari and directed to pay an annual tribute Rs. 6,000 a year to the raja of Peddapuram. Rajanna Dora was further obliged to pay the military charges incurred by the government, as well as Rs. 4,000 to Peddapuram for damages sustained by the latter.[1]

Acquisition of Vuppada.

Serious misgivings were entertained as regards the right of the Madras government to the Village of Vuppada, situated in the Peddapuram zamindari. A serious disturbance took place in the zamindari and some of the dependants of Peddapuram took forcible possession of this village.[2] The Du Pre government directed a minute inquiry into the whole matter. John Andrews, Chief of Vizagapatam, submitted that during his Chiefship of Musulipatam in 1759, when the requests of Colonel Forde were granted by Salabat Jang, Vuppada came into the possession of the Company in accordance with the clause ceding all towns on the sea-coast and the rivers in the Sarkars. It had never belonged to Peddapuram and its seizure could not invalidate the Company's right.[3] Exemplary punishment was originally contemplated against the chief perpetrator of this outrage, but the extreme old age of the culprit, Papayya Razu, induced the Madras government to close this incident with the imposition of a fine on him, which was to indemnify the inhabitants.[4]

Lease of *havely* lands, 1770.

In 1770, the *haveli* lands of Ellore were again let to Appa Rao and Narayana Rao, the joint rajas of Vuyyur, at *M. Ps.* 16,250 a year which showed an increase of *M. Ps.* 750 on the preceding year's rent. The Mustafanagar *haveli* was let to Jafar Beg Khan at *M. Ps.* 2,400 a year. The *haveli* of Rajahmundry was granted to Timmaji for M. Ps. 4,100 out of which the *jagir* of Johrulla and the charity allowances together estimated at M. Ps. 3,100 were to be deducted and disbursed by the Company to the recipients. Jogi Pantulu was granted the Nizampatam farm at an enhanced rent in addition to

1. Wynch to Madras, Rajahmundry, 22 February 1771, *Milit, Cons*, 4 March, Vol, 69, pp. 112-14, See also, *Same* to *same*, 7 March, idem, p. 141. The village of Ragapatnam was granted as *jagir* to Jagannadha Razu who may have been the diwan of Sitarama Rasu.

2. *Vizagapatam to* Madras, 21 January idem, 17 February; idem, pp, 52 61

3. *Same to same*, 6 March, idem 18 March, idem, pp, 144-45,

4. *Wynch to* Madras, Rajahmundry, 5 March. Milit Cons. 1 April, Vol, 69. pp, 183-85 and enclosures, pp, 155-90;

The amount of the fine is not stated,

his lease of Divi, Gudivada, Akulamannadu, Inuguduru and Antarvedi. Hussain Ali was continued in the lease of Bendamurlanka and its adjacent villages, Sakhinetipalli and Rameswaram. Sivaji Pantulu got the lease of the six islands of Divi with Hussain Ali as security for his *kists*. Venkatarayulu acquired the lease of Nilapalli while Tadepalli Ramayya leased the Arrak farm.[1] The Masulipatam farms were then let as follows.[2]

Farm.	Renter.	Rent in M. Ps.
Narsapur town.	Raja of Mugalaturru.	2,200
Land and Hyderabad customs.	Kamaji Pantulu	21,000
Masulipatam and Pandraka salt.	do	41,000
	Madras Pagodas.	64,000

Wynch's triennial settlement 1770-71 to 1773-74.

When once these miscellaneous farms had been disposed of, the government took into consideration the results of the direct management of the revenue during the proceeding years. They considered direct management to be greatly advantageous to the Company's interest. To increase the benefits to be derived therefrom and to secure the attachment of the zamindars and "convince them that far from exacting large sums from them by means of the power we are possessed of, we wish only to receive a fair and just proportion of the value of their countries," they resolved to conduct a triennial settlement and ordered Alexander Wynch to proceed to Rajahmundry and settle the *jamabandi* with the individual zamindars.[3] On 12 December 1770 Wynch arrived at Rajahmundry and immediately set himself to dispose of the preliminary obstacles in the way of the proposed triennial settlement. The rajas of Kota Ramachandrapuram who owed a balance of M. Ps. 4,367 gave him a considerable amount of trouble and at one time their zamindaries stood the risk of being sequestrated. But Wynch succeeded in obtaining the balances by lenient treatment.[4] Again, the zamindar of Pithapuram had already

1. *Masulipatam to Madras*, 2 June, 1770, No, 118, *Pub. Cons*, 13 June, Vol. 30. p. 50, *Same to same*, 31 May, No. 120. *idem* pp. 570-74. The figures for all the farms are not available.

2. *Same to same*, 25 and 26 October. *idem*. 2 November *idem* pp. 926-28. See also *Madras Letters Received*, 6 February, 1771, (Du Pre) paras 41-42. Vol. V.

3. *Masulipatam to Madras*, undated No. 171. *Pub. Cons.* 25 September, 1770, Vol. 30. pp. 862-64.

4. *Wynch to Madras*. Rajahmundry, 12 December, No. 230. *Pub Cons*. 28 December, Vol. 30. pp. 1,012-05.

drifted into a balance of M. Ps. 14,369, and therefore one Timma Razu was accepted as his security and given the management of the zamindari on behalf of the raja, who was to receive a suitable allowance.[1] But for these two incidents, the settlement was easily made on the basis of the previous year's settlement. Nearly M. Ps. 2,77,239 were secured on the spot and the balances covered by adequate *sahukar* security.[2]

Government's justification of a lenient *jama*.

The Madras gevernment recognised the fact that the revenues of the Sarkars were not commensurate with the expectations they had entertained when they first acquired the country and certainly below the expectations of the Court of Directors. But they were equally conscious of the fact that no further increase was possible under the existing conditions of defective information and experimental direct management. With a view to justify their policy of lenient administration and to placate the feelings of the Court of Directors, they entered into a lengthy discussion of the revenue position of the Sarkars in view of Wynch's triennial settlement at Rajahmundry.

In their dispatch of 6 February 1771,[3] the government admitted that in 1766 the estimated revenues of the Sarkars at M. Ps. 8,38,733 a year had been grossly exaggerated and had led the Court of Directors into false expectations. This was due to the insufficiency as well as the inaccuracy of the information at the disposal of the Government of the time. They recalled the fact that actually Hussain Ali, and Jogi Pantulu had been granted the rent of the three Middle Sarkars at M. Ps. 3,34,666 which was made up of the medium rent of M. Ps. 2,66,666 and military expenses of M. Ps. 78,000 a year. They contended that Wynch's settlement at M. Ps. 5,34,941 was adequate and just when compared with the triennial settlement with Hussain Ali and Jogi Pantulu and with the estimated present gross produce of M. Ps. 5,59,883 a year.

On the other hand, they admitted that a wide gap still remained between the estimate of 1766 and the settlement of 1771. This contract of figures was all the more glaring when it was recalled that by direct management the profits of the renters were eliminated and greater justice and uniformity of administration substituted. But, as a set off to this, the government pointed out that during the period of indirect management, the renters were constantly compelled to use "a superior force against the Zemindars" to realise their revenues. When this was not done consistently "the Zemindars

1. *Same to same.* 5 January, 1771, No. 3. *idem* 18 January, Vol. 31. pp. 13-14.
2. *Same to same,* 26 January, 1771, No. 26. *idem* 8 February, idem, pp, 60-61. No detailed figures of this settlement are available.
3. *Madras Letters Received.* 6 February (Du Pre) paras. 43-45. Vol. V.

paid little or nothing". Moderation and lenity were the only safeguards against fluctuating and extorted revenues. The government concluded. "But if Your Honors had rather receive a moderate revenue in peace and tranquility, we are humbly of opinion that the most effectual method (if any can be so) is to attach the Zamindars to your government by ensuring to them a better condition than they could hope for under any other and certainly one lack received in this way will yield more real advantage to the Company than three by compulsion"

But the government submitted that the Chicacole Sarkar was an exception to this line of argument, They recognised that "its produce far exceeds what we receive from it". This was due to its peculiar geographical position and to the turbulance of its numerous zamindars. As such they thought it "more advisable, under our present circumstances to accept almost anything from such Zamindars rather than undertake any hill expedition", even though such a policy "might seem derogatory to the Company's government". This was the principal reason why they had indulged Sitarama Razu. The echoes of the recent rebellion of Narayana Deo were a further warning to the government against weakening the power of Sitarama Razu at least for some time.

Lease of haveli 1771—72.

In 1771 the haveli of the three Sarkars was let for a period of two years. Even though the Ellore *haveli* had been a loss to the government owing to the bad management of its renters, Appa Rao and Narayana Rao, they were continued in its possession mainly with a view to giving them a chance of improving the administration and to recovering the Company's rent. The effect of this lease may be stated as follows :—[1]

Farm	Rent	Yearly rent in M. Ps.
Rajahmundry *haveli*	Venkata Rayulu	1,025
Ellore ,,	Appa Rao and Narayana Rao	11,000
Mustafanagar ,,	Malla Pandit	5,500
	Total Madras Pagodas.	17,525

Hussain Ali's death in September 1771 removed the last vestige of the dual administration of the Sarkars. The Masulipatam Council

1. *Wynch to Madras*, Rajahmundry, 23 March 1771, No. 72, *Pub. Cons.* 5 April, Vol. 31. pp. 184-86.
See also, *Masulipatam to Madras*, 30 March, No. 90, *idem*. 17 May, *idem*. pp. 300-01.

Death of Hussain Ali: Redistribution of his *jagir*.

immediately brought his personal *jagir* under their direct control.[1] The disposal of the *jagir* was one of the most thorny problems debated upon by the members of the Masulipatam Council and the Madras government. Such was the complicated nature of the issue and the tension of feelings between the members of the Masulipatam Council that Samuel Johnson was severely censured and recalled to the presidency for his ardent advocacy of the cause of Hussain Ali's family.[2]

The government approved the decision of the majority of the Masulipatam Council to restore such parts of the *jagir* which had originally belonged to the rajas of Peddapuram and Mugalaturru and had been usurped by Hussain Ali during his long term of office either as naib of Nizam Ali or renter of the Company and converted into his *jagir*. A smaller *jagir* consisting of Vallur and Duvva was reserved to his family, leased out to Tirupati Razu, raja of Mugalaturru, and the annual revenues thereof amounting to a lakh of rupees expended by the Chief of Masulipatam on the needs of the family.[3]

The zamindars of Rajahmundry, Ellore and Mustafanagar repaired to Masulipatam to settle their accounts for 1773, and paid their *kists* into the Company's Treasury. Only Appa Rao of Nuzividu was unable to pay his *jamabandi*. He turned refractory and

Progress of the triennial settlement. 1772-1774.

even though the Company's *thanadars* were engaged in securing the produce of his zamindari, he had the necessary local influence to collect M. Ps. 30,000 as his share of the year's produce. To prevent any such interference to the detriment of the Company's future revenues,

1. *Same to same*, 16 September 1771, No, 175. *idem*, Vol. 32 pp. 644-45.

2. *Masulipatam to Madras*, 15 October, No. 205, *idem*. 25 October. *idem*, pp. 713-15; *same to same*, 30 October, No. 212 *idem*. 8 November, *idem*. p. 722 forwarding consultation of the Masulipatam Council, *Same to same*, 23 November, No. 219 *ider*, pp. 765-68.

The Madras government imputed personal motives to Johnson and characterised his behaviour as a "misdemeanor and infidelity...as merits the severest sensure" *ibid*.

See als *Madras Letters Received*. 23 February 1772. (Du Pre) paras, 73-81 Vol. I.

3. *Masulipatam to Madras*. 3 December, 1771, No. 3 for 1772 *Pub. Cons.* 10 January 1772. Vol. 33. p, 6 *same to same*, 10 March No. 65 *idem*, and 16 March *idem* pp. 148-49; See also *same to* same 4 May, No. 106, *Idem* 11 May, *idem* pp. 290-92.

The chief of Masulipatam treated Hussain Ali's sons as Wards. On 25 December 1797 one of his sons petitioned Willy Pitt, Chancellor of the Exchequer and Member of the Board of Control for the restitution of the original *jagir*.

See his letter in the possession of the Editor of THE INDIAN a Journal published monthly in London. It is printed on pp. 7-8 of the Journal's July 1927 number.

See also, Johnson's letter to government in support of his advocacy of Hussain Ali's family. *Pub Cons.* 13 January, 1773, Vol, 35, pp, 60-61.

the government altogether removed him from the management of the zamindari. The appointment of managers of the revenues seemed the only eligible method and the Masulipatam Council recommended its adoption, for they were unwilling to re-establish a system of renterships from which the country had suffered considerably during the time of Hussain Ali and Jogi Pantulu. They observed that "if the lands in their present distressed situation were let out to rent, and the renter, by the failure of a crop or other accident should be reduced to the necessity of encroaching upon the rights of the inhabitants in order to make good his engagements with the Company, or otherwise harass and impoverish the ground", it would ultimately react upon the prosperity of the district and the revenues therefrom. To obviate this difficulty, they directed the Chief of Masulipatam to manage the country on the Company's account as a temporary measure.[1]

But, Appa Rao realised his felly in provoking the government to such a serious step and easily came round. He offered to immediately pay M. Ps. 10,000 by an approved *sahukar* bill in part payment of his balances and current *jama*, assign villages in his zamindari of the annual value of M. Ps. 9,000 as from 1774 and allow them to continue in the possession of the Company until his arrears to the Company as well as to the family of Hussain Ali were cleared off. Further, he agreed to provide approved *sahukar* security for the annual *jama*. This arrangement seemed to the government not to conflict with their recently declared policy of conciliation and lenity. Even though they clearly recognised the advantages of direct administration of the Vuyyur zamindari which would restore its prosperity and increase its revenues within a period of five or six years, they thought it best to revoke their former orders and restore Appa Rao to his hereditary property on his own conditions.[2]

The Madras government inaugurated their regime of inquiry and reform in the lease of the *haveli* lands for the years 1772–1776. From the information furnished by the Masulipatam Council they found that notwithstanding the provision in the *kauls* granted to them, the farmers had every opportunity of oppressing the inhabitants without detection and restraint. Since a renter knew that his rights and legitimate proportion of the crops were not definitely ascertained and prescribed by this government, "he may consider himself at liberty to judge of them, and the discouragements which the inhabitants lie under from

Early reforms (1773)

1. *Masulipatam to Madras*, 12 April, 1773, No. 76, *Pub. Cons.* 23 April, idem, pp. 383-86.

2. *Masulipatam to Madras*, 31 May 1773, No. 108, *Pub. Cons.* 7 June, No. 119, Vol. 36, pp. 509-11, *same to same*, 17 June, No. 119, *idem* 25 June, *idem* p. 558.

their ignorance of our language and of our intentions, may induce them rather to submit themselves to a present injury than, under these disadvantages, expose themselves to enraged power".[1] The government realised the danger to current revenues from any inquiry into these thorny problems complicated as they were by the measures followed by the renters over a considerable period of time. But inquiry they must institute and to obviate any diminution of the current *jama* they were willing to extend the term of lease, so as to give a greater opportunity to the renters as well as the cultivators to improve the farms.

As a consequence, they directed Masulipatam to inquire into "the mean produce of the villages or sub-divisions in each country or district", the particular privileges enjoyed by all classes of people in each individual district, and the proportion of produce the government were entitled to, by which means they would be "the better able to do justice both to the renters and to the inhabitants, by enforcing the rights of the first and protecting the latter from oppression".[2] They also directed that after the cultivator's proportion of the produce had been ascertained, mention should be made of it in the advertisements inviting offers from prospective renters to lease the *haveli* lands, so that the renters and the people in general would clearly know beforehand how they stand in relation to each other as well as to the government.

To further foster the cultivation of the lands, they agreed to issue cash advances (the latter *tacavvi* loans of the government) to the renters for keeping tanks and water courses in repair. The Company were to reimburse themselves at the time of the harvest out of "the amount of the proportion which is always reserved both from the husbandmen and renter's share of the crops as a fund for defraying the expense of such repairs and which, being in most places five per cent per annum will not only be sufficient for this purpose but leave a residue for further improvement". Finally, they ordered "proper surveys to be made of the repairs of improvements intended and ......executed under the direction of skilful persons.[3]

Henry Brooke and his Council at Masulipatam were entitled to all the credit for these reforms which were wholeheartedly approved and adopted by the Council of Alexander Wynce, who had just succeeded to the government of Madras. Even though there is no direct proof to substantiate the suggestion, these reforms of the

1. *Masulipatam to Madras*, 19 April, 1773, No. 79, *Pub Cons*, 30 April, and resolution of the government thereon, Vol. 35, pp. 403-04.

2. *Ibid.*

3. *Masulipatam to Madras*, 19 April, No. 79, *Pub Cons*. 30 April and resolution of the government thereon, Vol. 35, pp. 400—02, and Vol, 36, pp, 403—04.

Madras government greatly influenced and accelerated the decision of the Court of directors to appoint the Committee of Circuit two years later.

In the light of these reforms, the *haveli* lands were leased for a period of two years in the following manner.[1]

Farm.	Renter.	Rent in M. Ps. for three years.
Ellore haveli.	Sobram Lolla.	38,250
Mustafanagar.	Timmaji.[2]	13,500
Vallur.	Sivaji Pantulu.	18,750
Duvva.[3]	Tirupati Razu.	12,375

Tacavvi loans were advanced to the renters of such farms as were very poor. To secure these loans a "bond" from the inhabitants and another "security bond" from the renters were taken by the government. A third of the moneys advanced was to be repaid before the expiry of the first half and the remaining two-thirds before the end of the *fasli* year. On this, the Madras Government recorded with satisfaction that "indulgences of this kind are very useful in promoting industry and serve to impress the people in general with favourable notions of our government and we shall never be backward in granting them".[4] But, since the advantages from these loans ought to be considerable, they directed that the rents be collected at the rate of half within the first six months of the *fasli* year (February) and the remaining half in April and June in equal instalments, instead of the six bi-monthly *kists* proposals by general custom. As an alternative, they would be willing to receive a third in February and the remaining two-thirds in equal instalments in the April and June following.[5] Consequently, they advanced M. Ps. 2,000 for the inhabitants of Ellore, M. Ps. 1,200 to those of Vallur and M. Ps. 1,000 to those of Kondapalli.[6] These are the first recorded instances of *tacavvi* loans granted by the Madras government.

1. *Same to same*, 8 June 1773. No. 113. *idem*, 18 June, *idem*. pp. 532-36. See also' *Madras letters Received*, 5 February 1774. (Wynch) paras, 73-75. Vol. VII, I am unable to obtain figures for all the farms.

2. Timmaji's proposale have been copied out in Appendix "D" No. 4, to this thesis as a specimen of renters's proposals at this period.

3. *Masulipatam to* Madras, 11 July, No. 131 *pub. Cons.* 16 July, Vol. 36. pp. 613-14.

4. Resolution of the Madras government in *idem.* 18 June, 1773, *idem*, pp. 532 36.

5. Resolution of the Madras government in *pub, cons*, 18 *June*, 1773, Vol. 36 pp, 532-36

6. Masulipatam *to* Madras, 29 June, No, 124, *idem*, S, July, *idem*, pp, 606-07, and resolution thereon,

A sidelight upon the justice of the revenue policy of the government is supplied by the state of the Vizagapatam farms let for a period of five years (1774–79) at an annual rental of Rs. 15,325 Morgan Williams and Williams Hamilton, two servants of the Company, leased the Alipuram and Wathara farms. When they pressed for remissions on the previous lease of the same, the government. refused to "write off any part of their balances", in view of the fact that they had not claimed any remissions at the time when the losses were alleged to have taken place and had waited till the expiry of the lease and the grant of another.[1] The Court of Directors also endorsed the government's decision and insisted on the recovery of the *kists* due from them.[2] This instance clearly reveals the fact that no difference was made between local renters and the servants of the Company, but that the government always aimed at the efficient discharge of their duties according to the approved principles of the revenue administration at the time.

The appointment of John Whitehill to the Chiefship, of Masulipatam in September 1773, which had been a subject of warm debate by the members of the Madras Council,[3] was productive of momentous changes in the revenue administration of the Northern Sarkars.

Proposed changes in zamindari rights: Whitehill's recommendations

Even though he was unable completely to carry through his programme of reforms either during the present administration or later, even after he succeeded to the government of Madras, he had raised certain points for investigation and ultimate decision by the government in the light of his suggestions. Hence, it is necessary that a brief discussion of the points should be offered here, even if it is only to indicate the temper of the government of the time which was more in the spirit of patient inquiry than of drastic reform.

1 Madras *letters Received*, 5 February 1774, (Wynch) para, 53, Vol, VII,

2 Madras *Despatches*, 12 April 1775, para 14, Vol, VI pp, 251-52,

3 For a discussion of the merits of Whitehill's appointments see *pub. cons.* 10 September 1773, Vol,36 pp,691-92; *idem* 17 September, pp,704-06 and 739-40, respectively

To be continued

SAKTIVARMAN I, VIMALADITYA AND RAJARAJA.

DR. K. R. SUBRAHMANIAM, M. A., Ph. D.

Dānārṇāva ruled for barely three years when he was ousted by Bādapa and Tāḷa who ruled for some years thereafter. Śaktivarman son of Dānārṇava and Āryādēvi (*M.E.R.*, 1918, 132; *E.I.*, IV. 226) is said to have become king at the end of the so called *interregnum* which lasted between 973 and 1000 A.D. During this period, Dānārṇava seems to have lived. It is quite possible that there was disorder after Tālā's death. Taking advantage of this, a Telugu-Chōla King, Jaṭā Chōḍa Bhimanṛipati of the solar race took hold of a large part of Andhra; and he was dispossessed by Rājarāja, the great Chōla of the south who restored Andhra to its legitimate ruler and thus established order where it was sadly required (*S.I.I.* II, Part V.) Perhaps, the Telugu Chōla and the Tamil chōla championed the two rival dynasties of Andhra at the special request of the parties.

New light has been shed on this complicated and dark chapter of Andhra history by an epigraph at Conjeevaram of this period (*E.I.*, XXI, 29). It is dated Śaka 924 (current). It enumerates the Kings from Vijayāditya III to Dānārṇava, a devotee of Bhimeśvara. Then it mentions Jaṭā Chōda Bhīma with thirty two titles who usurped the Andhra throne and made confusion worse confounded. In all probability, Dānārṇava invited the Chōla power, which was becoming famous under Rājarāja the great, to help him against Jata Chōda Bhima. Or, Rājarāja intent on conquering the northern coastal districts found the usurper, struck a blow on behalf of the aggrieved party and thus conquered Vengaināḍu before 999 A. D. his fourteenth year. Next year, Rājarāja proceeded against Kalinga and conquered that country also. The Tiruvālangadu Plates say (*S.I.I.* III, 29,421) that Rājarāja defeated an Andhra King named Bhīma and it was hitherto thought that the Bhima was Vimalāditya who had the title Mummudi Bhima. It was a mistake as Vimalāditya ascended the throne in 1011 A.D. and Rājarāja the great conquered Vengaināḍu in or before his fourteenth year *i.e.* before 999 A.D. From the Conjeevaram inscription referred to above, we are able to identify Rajaraja's foe Bhīma with Jaṭa Chōḍa Bhīmanṛipati, a Telugu Chōḍa King who had revived the dynasty at this time as there was no powerful King in Andhra to hold him in check. "This period," wrote Dr. Fleet, "has been assumed to have been a time of anarchy with the suggestion that the anarchy may be fairly attributed to Chōḷa invasions. I suspect that the country was in fact conquered and held for a time by the Chōḷas" (*I.A.*

XX, 272). But, we have noted above that the anarchy was perhaps caused after Tāḷa's death by the Telugu Chōḷa and the great Chōla restored the old line and began the Chōḷa domination over Andhra by a marriage alliance. It is also possible that Satyāśraya, son of Tailapa added to this disorder and that the dynasty of Kalinga contributed its quota by helping the enemies of Dānārṇava and the legitimate line.

Just about the time of Rajaraja Chola's conquest, Dānarṅāva seems to have died and he was succeeded by his son Śaktivarman who is said to have ruled twelve years 999-1011 A.D. according to the Korumelli grant of Rajaraja Narendra. Śaktivarman was succeeded by his younger brother Vimalāditya. According to his Raṇastapūṇḍi grant (*E. I.* VI, 347) to his minister Vajjaya or Vajra Preggaḍa, Viṃalāditya was crowned on May 10, 1011 A.D. Vimalāditya was in the Chōla court between 1011—1015 A.D. (*M. E. R.* 1900, 14) and there is an inscription of his in Tiruvaiyār in Tanjore Dt. (215 of 1891) of the year 1014 A.D. So, he seems to have returned only in 1015 from the capital of his father-in-law, the Chōḷā king. Since he is assigned seven years by all inscriptions, his reign ended in 1018 A.D.

The position of Vimalāditya in Vēngi was not secure without Chōla support. On his death there seems to have been the usual fratricidal war between his sons Rājarāja and Vijayāditya. Else, there is no reason for the delay in coronation till August 16,1022 AD. From the early history of the Eastern Cālukyan brothers and from the later history of Vijayāditya, it is not improbable that he began a civil war with or without the help of the King of Kalyan. In all probability, the Chola had to send his weight to steady Rajaraja also on the throne. Later coronation was not unprecedented as Chālukya Bhīma was similarly crowned four years after accession. It is very likely that this strife gave materials to Nannayya for calling his patron a valiant victor in many battles (*JAHRS* Vol. V, p. 205.)

There is no valid reason for assigning 1015-1022 for Vimalāditya with an interregnum between 1012-1015 or with an addition of three years to the period of anarchy 973-1000 AD. contrary to all statements that it covered only 27 years. Moreover, as we shall see presently, Śaktivarman II son of Vijayaditya was crowned in 1061 A. D. after Vijayāditya became king. So, it is impossible to bring the reign of Rājarāja Narēndra to 1063 A. D. and it is against undoubtedly correct data.

Rājarāja Narēndra is said to have ruled for 40 years and again for one year (*S.I.I.*, I, 54, lines 46-47). Kulōttuṅga II assigns 41 years for the duration of Rajaraja Narēndra's reign. The Pithapuram inscription assigns him only 40 years but it belongs to Śaka 1124 (*E.I.* IV, 226). Exactly 41 years after Rājarāja's accession to the Andhra throne, the usurpation of his younger brother, Vijayāditya took place. Vijaya-

ditya's son says that the usurpation took place in Rājarāja Narendra's absence (*JAHRS* Vol. V, 57, line 44, C. P. of S'aktivarman II), Rājarāja survived a few months after the usurpation. In october 1061 A. D. Vijayāditya thought that, as he was getting old, he should crown his son Śaktivarman. This could not have taken place in Rājarāja Narēndra's life-time unless we presume that in the life-time of Rājarāja Narēndra, Vijayāditya and his son crowned themselves in one part of his kingdom, say, South Vizagapatam District. So, the date assigned to Rājarāja Narendra till now, 1022-63 has to be changed.

Let us summarise here the relevant facts. The Chellūru grant of Vīrachōḍa gives 23 July, 1078 A. D. as the date of his coronation. His elder brother Rājarāja ruled Andhra for a year before him according to the same grant. 27th July 1076 A.D. was the date of Rājarāja's coronation. Then, as the Chellūr grant gives 15 years for the rule of Vijayāditya before the viceroy Rājarāja, Rājarāja Narendra mus have died in 1061 and his younger brother Vijayāditya must have ascended the throne in the same year.

To support this 1061 datum for Rājarāja's death we have some more arguments. S'aktivarman II son of Vijayāditya was crowned in October 1061 A. D. At least a few months before October 1061, Vijayāditya must have felt secure on the throne to venture on the next step. Secondly, there are two inscriptions of Rājarāja (*M.E.R.* 1920, Nos. 663 and 671) which equate his 37th and 41st years with Saka 980 and S'aka 983 (Plava.) If they are correct, his 41st year was 1061 and as Vijayāditya usurped in Rājarāja's absence the usurpation might have taken place a few months before, after which some compromise might have been effected by which Rājarāja Narendra was allowed to rule till his death. Thirdly, the Pāmulavāka grant of Vijayāditya gives us the much needed clue in the whole matter. He usurped in Saka 952, the 12th year of Rājarāja's reign. We have no reason to doubt its authenticity and it is the earliest dated grant of this reign. So, Rājarāja succeeded in 1018 A. D. and had himself crowned in 1022A.D. Why was the coronation delayed ? Was it due to a civil war or any other reason ? We cannot say at present.

The legal king of Andhra from 1018 A. D. to 1061 A. D. was Rājarājanarendra. But during this long period of 43 years, Vijayaditya his younger half-brother created great trouble for him at the beginning, in 1030-32 and for a third time in 1061 A. D. when he effected the final coup in Rājarāja's absence from Rajahmundry. In calculating the regnal years, Rājarāja must have omitted two years for Vijayāditya's first usurpation in 1030-32, his second having lasted only a few months. The last year of Rājarāja Narēndra, year 41 was 983 S'aka (Plava) which must be early 1061 A. D. as S'aktivarman was crowned in 983 S'aka (expired) i. e. in October 1061 A. D. Thus

Rājarāja did not rule till 1063 A. D. As regards his first year, if we take it as S'aka 944, then it would be rather impossible to press in 41 years between S'aka 944 and 983.

There was only a short interval between Vijayāditya's usurpation and Rājarāja's death. According to the supposed compromise, or due to any other reason, instead of Rājarāja's son succeeding his father, Vijayāditya succeeded him. Virārājēndra in his Kanyākumāri inscription says that his brother Rājādhirāja and Rājēndradēva neglected Vēṅgi which was under the thumb of the Chōḷa before them, and so, there was no Choḷa interference in Vēṅgi politics when Vijayāditya usurped and succeded Rājarāja as the Chālukyan menace from Kalyāṇ gave enough work for the Chōḷa sovereigns. Having secured the throne, Vijayāditya wanted to pass it on to his son. So S'aktivarman was crowned in S'āka 983 (Sun in Tula, S'ukla, Thursday, Anurādhā). He died a year later (1062) in some war. For the sake of *dharma*, Vijayāditya *alias* Kaliyudhiṣṭhira resumed rule and till he died he was lord of Veṅgīrājya. The war in which S'aktivarman II died was perhaps a war with Kulottunga, son of Narēndra who disputed his uncle's right to pass the Crown on to his son.

Dr. Fleet shrewdly suspected a break in the succession (*I. A.* XX, 273), and this break was due to Vijayāditya's usurpation which his son says, took place in Rājarāja's absence. Evidently, Rājarāja regained the throne, died a few months later and was succeeded by his brother Vijayāditya. This was the third occasion when Vijayāditya gave trouble to Rājarāja, the second being in 1030 A. D. According to the Pāmulavāka plates (*J A H R S* II, 287, lines 60-65) Vijiyāditya crowned himself after usurpation on July 9, 1030 A. D. in Rājarāja's 12th year and he issued the grant in his second year in 1032 A. D. This episode is left out in the later charters of Vijayāditya and Śaktivarman as well as in other records. Similarly, they discreetly omit Vijayāditya's last usurpation and speak of Vijayaditya's accession after Rājarāja's death as if there was no heir to Rājarāja to succeed him.

After having spoken about the chronology of the three reigns we may now consider the chief events. The Numiyavāḍa grant says that Dānārṇava and Amma II fell out at the end and killed each other's sons (*M. E. R.* 1914, 86) But, Dānārṇava left two sons to rule Saktivarman and Vimalāditya. Dānārṇava lived on till almost the end of the so-called interregnum without regal power on account of Bāḍapa and Tala first and the Telugu Chōḷa Bhīma next. But he continued to bring in the southern Chōḷa who revived the legitimate line. Saktivarman called himself Chālukya Chandra (*I. A.* XIV, 50) and Chalukya Narāyana and bore high sounding *birudas* and his nephew Rājarāja calls him a just ruler. It is said that Śaktivarman

fought with the Chōḷa while young. He also encountered Badyama Mahārāja and others (*M. E. R.* 1918, 132). The Chōḷa whom he fought with is further called Chōḍa Bhīma who met with his death like Rāvaṇa in the hands of this Chālukya Nārāyana. It is clear from what has been said above with reference to the Conjeevaram inscription that this Chōḍa Bhīma was the very person whom Rājarāja the great defeated. So, Saktivarman took part in the war while his father was still alive, on the side of Rājaraja the great who championed the legitimist party. It is quite possible that Jata Chōḍa, a princeling of the Bādapa Tāla line, the Chālukya of Kalyān and the king of Kalinga joined together against the Tamil Chōḷa and his legitimist protege.

As a result of Rājaraja's conquest of Vēngi on behalf of Dānārṇava, friendliness was established between Āndhra and Drāviḍa royal families which fructified in the marriage of Rājarāja's daughter and Rājēndra's younger sister Kundava to Vimaladitya the younger brother of Saktivarman. Vimaladitya was absent in the Chōla kingdom for some years and he returned to Rājahmundry in 1015 A. D.

Vimalāditya must have married Kundava even in his brother's reign when the first contact took place between Chōla and Andhra. There is no reason to think that Vimaladitya was married after 1011 A. D. or was prisoner in 1011-15 in Chōḷa as Rājarāja Narēndra would then have been but a child in 1018 when his father died. If Rājarāja Narēndra's younger brother had been born some years later, he would not have passed his teens in 1030 A. D. and would not have grown wearily old, as we are told, in 1061 A. D. So, Vimalāditya was married before 1011 A. D., his sojourn in Chōḷa was in the capacity of a son-in-law who went there perhaps to witness the ceremonies of Rājarāja's retirement and Rājēndra's accession. Vimalāditya died in 1018 A. D. after ruling seven years partly by deputy as he was in Tanjore for some years. He had great devotion to the Jain creed as the Kannada Trikālayōgi is called his *guru* in an inscription at Rāmatīrtha. He has also made a gift to the Siva Temple at Tiruvaiyar in Tanjore Dt.

Vimālāditya had two sons, Rājarāja by Kundava and Vijayāditya by Medava Mahadevi also a Chōla princess (M,E.R., 1914, 86 ; 1925, 77) Rājarāja (or Rajarājanarendra) named after his maternal grandfather had a long reign during which all the arts of peace flourished a description of which is, however, beyond the scope of this article. The Chōḷa relationship gave the Eastern Chalukyas after Saktivarman, great strength in foreign politics and there was not much disturbance from outside as there used to be before. Still there was internal strife among royal cousins which usually mars Eastern

Chalukyan history. Rājarāja married Ammangadāvi his maternal uncle Rājēndra's daughter, and this brought the two royal houses much closer than before. Rājēndra's expedition to the Ganges must have passed through Rājarāja's principality and the latter must have participated in the glories of Gangaikoṇḍan. (S.I.I. I. 98; E.I: XVIII, 53) The existence of a strong outpost in Andhra gave the Chōḷa great strength against the Chāḷukya of the Deccan with whom the Chōla was ever on inimical terms. It also served as a check on Kalinga. Vajrahasta III assumed the high sounding title of lord of Three Kalingas (Trikalingadhipati, in 967 Śaka (E. I. XI, 148) but his pride was soon put down by the southern conqueror. In view of the thorny foreign politics of Kalinga and Kuntala, the Eastern Chāluk-yas willingly surrendered their foreign policy to their Chōḷa relations who thus secured an extensive seaboard for commercial and naval purposes and a favourable field of military operations against their common foes.

Rājarāja Narendra's reign was not free from difficulties. To start with, Rājarjāa had trouble from royal cousins particularly from his half-brother Vijayāditya which he had to get over before he could crown himself as king. (1022 AD.)

Then, his close relation with the Chōla alienated the Chalukya of Kalyān. Sōmēśvara is said to have marched towards the coast and then south into Chōla conquering all the way through. More than that, the Western Chalukya seems to have set Vijayāditya against his brother. Vijayāditya was very unbrotherly and about 1030 A. D. (J. A. H. R. S. II, 277) there was a civil war in which he was helped by Chamaraja, ornament of the Nāgākula (*Bastar* ?) and Bhīma Bhūpa vassal of Rājarāja. It was in the second year after he succeeded in ascending the throne he called himself Mahā-rajādhirāja and issued the Pamulavāka grant in Kalinga to Bhīma Bhūpa. It might be that the power of Vijayāditya was established only in Madhyama Kalinga. However, Rājarāja drove him out and Vijayāditya seems to have fled for further support to the Western Chālukya whose traditional policy handed down from the Rāṣṭrakūṭa was to side the younger brother against the elder in Andhra. The Deccan ruler seems to have made him chief of Nōlam-bavādi (*M.E.R.* 1924, 75 ; *I. A.* XX, 277-8), and his protege called himself the worshipper of the lotus feet of his patron and even his son, just to please him and get further help. The Nolambavadi epigraphs are dated 1066 A.D. when Vijayaditya ruled Andhra but perhaps he ruled Nolambavadi by deputy. There can be no mistaking of the name *Sarvalōkāśraya* Viṣṇuvardhana Vijayāditya Maharaja of the Nolambavādi epigraphs as it is an Eastern Chālukyan name with the two *birudas* and as he is also called Vēngimaṇḍalesvara. That was

an additional reason for Vīrarājēndra's expedition to Vēngi once under the Chōḷa, left to itself by his two elder brothers and then in the hands of his enemy.

In 1061 A. D. Vijayāditya advanced on Rajahmundry in the absence of Rajarāja from his capital to try his luck once more, abetted and aided perhaps by the ruler of Kalyan (*M. E. R.* 1914, 86; *J.A.H.R.S.* V, 33). Whither Rājarāja had gone, to put down some vassal instigated by his enemies to rebel, or for any other purpose – we are not in a position to say. On his return, he found to his consternation the successful coup of his brother who held Rajahmundry. A compromise must have been effected by which Vijayāditya was to succeed his brother. Rājarāja died a few months later in 1061. Then Vijayāditya made his son his successor in October 1061 A.D. whereas Kōluttunga should get in after his uncle. This enraged the *Ilango* Rājēndra alias Kulōttunga who must have fought with his uncle.

The Nūmiyavāda grant of Saktivarman son of Vijayaditya calls Saktivarman *Samaraikabhairava* and Satyāśraya (*M. E. R.* 1914 p. 86). The Ryāli plates of Vijayaditya (*M. E. R.* 1925, 77) speak of the death of his son Saktivarman a year after his coronation and that the father mourned bitterly as Arjuna did over the demise of Abhimanya on the battlefield.

What was the war in which Vijayāditya and his son Śaktivarman fought and the latter lost his life (1062 A. D.)? So far, the Western Chālukya was a friend and we do not hear of Kalinga hostility to Vijayāditya. The war was with Kulōttunga, son of Rājarājā. The Chōḷas, Rājādhirāja and Rājēndradēva took no interest in Vēngi politics (*E.I*, XVIII, 54). Kulōttunga naturally expected the throne aftor his uncle but now Śaktivarman stood in his way. When Śaktivarman died Kulōttunga was willing to wait till Vijayāditya's death. The later account in Vīra Chōḍa's Chellūr grant of about 1091 A. D. about events that happened in 1062 A. D. must be taken with a grain of salt.

Simply because Kulōttunga is made to say in courteous language that he allowed his uncle to rule as viceroy for fifteen years, let us not be deluded into thinking that the relations between the uncle and the nephew were smooth from the beginning. In 1061 Vijayāditya had his son crowned as his successor when Kulōttunga had not even the ghost of a chance for the headship of the Chōla empire though his grand mother might have petted him and prattled about his imperial marks which weighed a feather in the balance against the superior claims and might of Rajēndradēva and Vīrarājēndra, not to speak of Adhirājēndra. Being utterly helpless in Vēngi, Kulōttunga lived in Chōḷa. It was sheer good luck that brought him on to the Imperial throne but credit must also be given for his rare

diplomacy and opportunism which stopped short of nothing. From his high imperial throne, 16 years after his uncle's death, he could speak good words of him and talk of his own prior claims to Vēngi. His uncle's rudeness to him was a blessing in disguise as he was thrown upon his own resources and forced to cultivate the Chōḷa relationship. He took part in Pandya and Kērala expeditions (*S.I.I.* I, 51 verses 8-11) fought in Chōḷa wars and created a party in the court to push his claims. His mother's mother had fondled him as the symbol of union of the solar and lunar lines and as having auspicious marks as all grandmothers do. His mother Ammangi perhaps was still alive and had influence. His wife Madhurantaki was the daughter of his uncle Rājēndradēva, predecessor of Vīrarājēndra. Under the influence of all these, Kulōttunga made a virtue out of necessity and. to use his words, permitted the good and virtuous Vijayāditya to rule as his viceroy. Luck favoured him. Adhirājēndra became unpopular, thanks to his Western Chālukyan relation and to the organised opposition of Rāmānuja's party who favoured the son of Ammangi.[1] What part Kulōttunga played in bringing about the end of Adhirājēndra is unknown (*M. E. R*, 1913, 105). Anyway he reckons his regnal years from 1070 A. D. and his accession to Vēngi after the death of his father. He prides upon his youthful deeds at Wairagārh and Sakkarakoṭṭa where he caught elephants and collected tribute at the point of the sword (*S, I. I.* III, 122-4). He might have also added that in Vēngi his claims were not recognised till he became emperor and he lost his throne at Rajahmundry while he was making doubtful gains in Bastar. So Vīrachōḍa's apology in the Chellūr grant falls flat on our ears. First annointed to Vēngi which was the cause of the rising of his splendor, wishing for or preferring the Chōḷa sovereignty, he transferred the sovereignty of Vēngi to his uncle (1061) *Chōḍarājya bhilashin, Digvijayāishin* he left it to his uncle-all these thoughts were put in a pleasant reminiscent mood at a later date in Vīra Chōḍa's records.

1 Ammangi Ammāl and Utkala Ammāl are two of the disciples of Rāmānuja. But, we cannot say if the former was Queen Ammangi.

MISCELLANY

DATE OF THE NARASINGHANATH* INSCRIPTION.

Narasimhanāth (Sambalpūr District, Orissa) temple inscription of the time of Vējaladēvarāya, son of Vairāja dēvarāja, of Pāṭaṇā. This inscription was noticed by Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar in the *Annual Report* for 1904—5, p. 124, of the Archaeological Survey of India. The date of this record, which is the subject of discussion in the following paper, runs as follows :

L. 1. ....S'rī Vīkāri-nāma samb(v)atsarē
Raīvata-māha – – S'ukra-vāre Hastanakṣatrē *etc.*

Dr. Bhandarkar thinks that this cyclic year falls in 1359 A. D., which may be the date of Vējala, mentioned in the list of the Mahārājas of Pāṭaṇā given in the C. P. Gazetteer, pp. 483 ff.

Editor.

Narsinghnāth is a holy place in the Padampūr Zamīndāri of the Sambalpūr District, formerly in Chhaṭṭisgarh Division, C. P. and now in Orissa. It is famous and attractive for its beautiful waterfalls and rich natural scenery.

Through the courtesy of the late Rāja Rājēndrasingh Bariha, Zamindar of Bora Sambar Zamindari, and of Pandit T. B. Pūjāri, B.Sc. the then S. D. O. of Bargarh Tahsil, I got eye-copies and transcript of the stone inscription at Narsinghnāth for the first time in 1923.

On 7-6-1923, I wrote in English a short paper on "The fixing of the dates of the Chauhan Rajas of Sambalpur" and submitted it in 1925 to Rai Bahadur (later on Dr.) Hīralal B.A., M.R.A.S. for his opinion. While returning my article the learned Rai Bahadur was pleased to remark:—

As I told you, I have not studied the Patanā Chauhan history but I congratulate you on your successfully refuting Dr. Bhandarkar in respect of the Narsinghnāth inscription date, which he wrongly calculated. The details quite agree with your surmise in Vikram year 1351 as you will find in the text corrected by me though by a curious coincidence Caitra Pūrṇima did fall on a Friday (15th March 1359 A. D.) but the S'aka cyclic year was Vilambi, and *not* Vikāri It was a fortnight after that the Vikāri commenced and the Caitra Pūrṇima in that cyclic year fell on Thursday 2nd April 1360 A. D."

The Rai Bahadur further stated as follows:—

"Dr. Bhandarkar made his calculation according to the *S'aka* Calendar and not Vikram and thus his conclusion was vitiated."

* The place is so called in that locality.

I paused to publish my original paper under reference, and prepared a short note in Hindi, which appeared in the May number of the Hindi Journal *"Mādhuri"* of Lucknow U. P. (Vol. 3, Part II, No. 5, 1925). It was styled as follows: "Was the cyclic year Vikāri current in 1359 A. D.?" My paper drew the attention of Mr. M. P. Shrivatsava, B.Sc., Head Master, Govt. High School, Rai Bareli, U. P.

In the issue of the same Hindi Journal '*Mādhuri*' (Vol. IV, Part I, No. 3, September 1925), he tried to reply to my query and to prove that the Vikāri year was present in 1359 A. D., according to Southern Indian system.

This done, I opened correspondence with a number of scholars including Rai Bahadur B. Jagannath and Pt. Gorelal Tiwari of Bilaspur C. P. In due course I submitted the whole volume of the lengthy correspondence to Mr. M. P. Shrivatsava for his scrutiny and conclusion. After patiently studying every phase of the question Mr. Shrivatsava contributed a learned paper to the *Mādhuri* Journal (Vol. IV, Part II, No. 6, July 1926). His paper is styled "Date of the Narsinghnath temple inscription."

Leaving aside his discussions, I would like to note down his findings on the five controversial points, presented to him for consideration. They are:—

If the Vikāri year falling in 1351 Vikram has a Friday on its full moon day of the month of Caitra with Hastā nakṣatra, then the date of Narsinghnath inscription can safely be accepted as Vikram Saṁvat 1351 (= 1294 A. D.)

My reply to the above is this. The full-moon day began on Friday at sun set in 1351 Vikram saṁvat, but there was no Hastā nakṣatra that day till mid-night. So it cannot be accepted that there was Hastā nakṣatra with Friday on that date.

Rai Bahadur Dr. Hiralal remarks thus:—

"The details quite agree with your surmise in Vikram year 1351. In that year the full-moon day of Caitra fell on Friday, 1st April 1295 A. D. does not hold good. In 1295, there was no Vikram Saṁvat 1351 with the cyclic year, Vikāri. Similarly *R. B.* Jagannath's rough calculation cannot stand scrutiny and is unacceptable".

In 1359 A. D. (Dr. Bhandarkar's calculation), the Caitra-Pūrṇimā fell before the Mesa-Saṅkrānti and therefore there was no Vikāri that year.

In Vikram year 1410 there was *Vikāri* year, no doubt, but the Caitra Pūrṇima fell on Wednesday and not on Friday.

In 1470 Vikram, the Caitra-Pūrṇima fell on Friday with Hastā-nakṣatra and there was Vikāri cyclic year present. This date corresponds to 17th March 1413 A. D.

As the details agree in every respect, the date of the Narsinghnath inscription cannot be other than 17th March 1413, Caitra-Pūrṇimā of Vikram Saṁvat 1470.

When there is sufficient data to find out the year, why should one rely upon the broken reed of palaeography which is not always and everywhere an unmistakable guide? In my paper entitled "Chauhan Mahārājas of Patna State [1]" I had stated that according to Mr. Mahāvīra Prasad Shrivatsava, B. Sc., the date of the Narsinghnath inscription can be accepted as 1470 Vikram.

Mr. Vināyak Mishra in his paper 'Narsimhanāth stone inscription of Baijaladēva [2]" writes:—

"It is difficult to ascertain the date of this inscription by working out the above astronomical details. Because we do not know whether the cyclic year *Vikāri* of the Jupiter of the inscription belong to the Northern or Southern system."

We can assure Mr. Vinayak Mishra that the tract covering the Borasambar Zamindari, in which the holy place Narsinghnāth is situate falls within the country where the Northern system of Calendar was and is in vogue and it does not go out of the pale of *Āryāvarta*.

The various *Pañjikas* in Oriya language published from Cuttack and Puri Districts in Orissa are prepared according to Northern system of calculations, so far as my information goes. Apart from this, the very fact that Caitra-Pūrnimā with *Vikāri* cyclic year, cannot help an astronomer to take the calculation and system of Calendar to be of the Southern Part.

According to Southern system, the year begins with *Pauṣa-saṅkrānti* which continues up to the next *Pauṣa-saṅkrānti* and the very name of the cyclic year remains for 12 months.

In 1359 A. D. (Vide Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar's calculation) the Caitra-Pūrṇima had fallen before Pauṣa-Saṅkrānti and therefore, there was no *Vikāri* year on that date.

The astronomical details quite agree when the date is taken according to Northern system and leave no room for further doubt, under the circumstances, why should one discard these useful details and take the shelter of palaeography as does Mr. Vinayak Mishra.

Mr. Vinayak Mishra has, no doubt, published a facsimile of the inscription but the letters are indistinct, and it is not possible to compare and verify the correctness of his reading.

Dr. Bhandarkar read Bachharāja, on the spot about 1903-04, we read it, "Baikarāja" or Bekarāja = Vikramārkarāja. What

1 *I. H. Q.* Vol. VIII, No. 3, September 1932, pp. 618-623.

2 *I. H. Q.* Vol. XII, p. 455, ff.

Mr. Vinayak Mishra reads for *manōhar putrārtha* was read by us as *Haran pāpa tīrthe* and so on.

We don't hold any brief to prove that the rulers of Paṭanā cum Sambalpur Raj, were designated as "Mahārājas" from the very beginning. This might have been the fact that among their people, they (the Chauhan rulers) would have been known and styled as "Mahārājas." The oldest Govt. records which are reliable give their names with the title of Mahārājas, while in case of other Ruling princes or chiefs, the Government records are not found to contain the word 'Mahārājas' for them.

Why the rulers of Paṭanā only were called Mahārājas and were recorded so in Govt. records of those days and why the British Officers did not hesitate to accept it, and why the British Govt. put in their despatches and Govt. publications the same, is not our subject for investigation. Mr. Mishra says that in his own inscription Baijaldeva calls himself simply a Rāja and not a *Mahārāja*.

The inscription appears to be a simple and religious affair and if there is an absence of words and titles like Aṣṭādaśa Durgādhiśvara and Mahārāja, it is quite becoming of a noble-hearted and religious-minded king, unassuming and unostentatious.

In all likelihood the inscription was the creation of some local *Sādhu* - a devotee of god Śrī Narsimha Nāth, and not a royal or official charter. Its language, its style and it wordings — all disclose this fact. The firmly rooted tradition that the Chauhan rulers of Pāṭanā were the overlords of a number of subordinate chiefs or local rulers, does go to prove that they were accepted by them as their *Mahārājas!* Later on the Sambalpur Chauhan Rulers — a scion of the Pāṭanā Chauhan family — became the Mahārājas of a cluster of 8 subordinate Chieftains called Aṭhāragarh and Feudatory States like Sarangarh, Sakti, Bargarh, Raigarh, Sorepur, Bamra, Bonia, Rerakhole and Zamindaries like Bindranawagarh (present day Chhurā) and Phuljhar accepted the Rulers of Sambalpur Rāj as their overlords, and did homage to them.

L. P. PĀṆDEYA ŚARMĀ.

IS CUDDAPAH DISTRICT NOT THE ANCESTRAL HOME OF THE ĀRAVĪḌUS?

There is support for the theory that there is a close and intimate connection between the Āravīḍu chiefs and the Cuddapah District and that in fact it is their ancestral home. The word "Āraveṭi" in Telugu means "pertaining to Āraveḍu". The ancestors of Āravīṭi Rāma Rāja who captured Kurnool and made it his capital, are said in several Telugu poems to be lords of "*Āraveṭipura*". Now, where was this town Āraveṭipura or Āraveḍu? To this question I have found no answer in Rev. Heras's book on the Āravīḍu Dynasty, nor in the *Sources of Vijayanagar History* of Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar. But in casually turning over the pages of Vol. IV of the *Epigraphica Indica, Vol.* I found at p. 270 a reference in the text to Āraveṭipura with the following foot-note by Dr. Hultzsch, the then editor:—"Mr. K. Venkatakrishnayya, clerk of the Madras Law College, informs me that the Madras Manual of Administration, Vol. III, p. 765, mentions a place named Āraveḍu, 16 miles w.s.w. from Rāyachōṭi in the Cuddapah District." The note shows that Dr. Hultzsch thought that Āraveḍu in the Rāyachōṭi Taluq (bordering on the Chittore District) might be the *Āraveṭipura* of the Telugu poems. On looking up Mr. Gribble's Cuddapah District Manual (of 1875), I find that Āraveḍu is given in the list of villages in the Rāyachōṭi Taluq and it had a population of 2716 inhabitants. In the Cuddapah District Gazetteer (of 1915) the village is noted in the map attached to the publication but no mention is made of it in the list of important villages in the Rāyachōṭi Taluq. It looks as if the Archaelogical Department had not tried to follow up the suggestion of Dr. Hultzsch.

It seems to me that the following points may be helpful when considering the theory of the identity of Āraveḍu in Rāyachōṭi Taluq with Āraveṭipura of the poems:—

(1) There seems to be no other big village identified as Āraveṭipura (so far as I know).

(2) The poem *Rāmarājīyamu* states that Āraveṭi Sōmadēva and his son Āravīṭi Bukka ruled at Āraveṭipura and that the latter's son Āravīṭi Rāma Rāja captured Kurnool from the Savai (Sultan of Gōlkonda) and made it his capital. With reference to Āravīṭi Bukka it is stated by Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar (at p. 102 of his *Sources*) that Bukka was a general under the Vijayanagar Emperor Sāluva Narasimha (of the second or *Sāluva* dynasty). The same learned author states (at pages 8 & 92) that Sāluva Narasimha held the fief of Chandragiri which was his ancestral residence. Āravīṭi Bukka's help to Sāluva Narasimha was so great that he is referred to by the author of *Rāmarājīyamu* as having earned the title of

"the establisher of Sāluva Narasimha's line." These facts seem to suggest that Bukka was the petty chieftain of Āravedu in the Cuddapah District; that he however came to prominence under the Sāluva dynasty; and that his son Rāma Rāja removed his head-quarters to Kurnool after he got it as a jāghir from the Emperor. Āravīṭi Bukka must have lived very near Chandragiri to be of great use to Sāluva Narasimha.

(3) There is a very large number of Āraveṭi families in the districts of Cuddapah and Kurnool.

(4) If it should be asked how Āraveḍu lost its importance when it was the ancestral home of the Āravīḍu kings, it must be remembered that (as stated at p. 36 of the Cuddapah District Gazetter) the Rāyachōṭi Taluq was in the Udayagiri Province under the Vijayanagar kings. But Udayagiri was temporarily lost to the empire (thanks to the kings of Orissa and the Reddis of Koṇḍavīḍu) till the great Krishnadēvarāya reconquered it. It was finally lost to the empire in 1580, much earlier than the Cuddapah district.

(5) There are several villages in the Rāyachōṭi Taluq and the surrounding area ending with *veḍu* or *Veeḍu*, such a Ghālivedu Noolivedu, Mudivedu, Goṭṭiveḍu.

If Āraveḍu in Rāyachōṭi was the Āraveṭipura of the Telugu poems, the Cuddapah District gets the pride of place as the ancestral district of the *Rāyalu* i. e. of the kings of the Āraviḍu or Karnāṭa dynasty.

T. Bhujanga Rao, M. A., B. L.,
Dewan Bahadur (Retired Dist. & Sessions Judge)

REVIEWS

THE SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC IDEAS OF BENOY SARKAR

By Banesvar Dass, 462 pages, Chuckerverthy Chatterjee & Co., Ltd., Calcutta, 1939. Price Rupees Eight. With a foreword by Narendra Nath Law.

As indicated in the title, the object of this Volume is to describe the Fundamental ideas in the works of Professor Benoy Kumar Sarkar who is one of the most voluminous of Indian writers on Economics and Sociology. For the past thirty years nearly he has worked in the field and reaped a rich harvest. There is also no doubt that he is a keen observer, a great traveller and a deep thinker. Hence his programme of Reform has to be regarded with the respect due to such a learned author who combines in himself the culture of the East with that of the West.

What distinguishes him from the other great Indian Economists (like Prof. Kale, the late Mr. Gokhale, Prof. P. J. Thomas and Dr. John Matthai) is that he has started Economic work in his mother tongue, i. e. Bengali and the Institutes he has founded have not only popularised his ideas among the masses but also produced results which are quiet creditable to them.

Particularly valuable are Prof. Sarkar's researches on the Population Problem and the Tariff Question as affecting India.

It was the complaint of the older politicians like M. G. Ranade and Sri P. M. Mehta that there were few Indian Economists (of international reputation) who could meet the Finance Member of the Government of India on his own ground. We are glad that this defect is slowly being remedied and a person of the outstanding ability of Prof. Sarkar has emerged into prominence.

In books of this type, it is natural for the author to become a 'hero-worshipper'. Phrases like 'Sarkarism' and 'the Seven Creeds of Sarkar' may be mentioned as instances in point. But even making allowance for such things, there is no doubt that Prof. Sarkar is a man of ideas who has helped to raise India's name in the world of Politics and Economics. He wields also a facile pen and it is a pleasure to read what he has to say on any topic. And we are grateful to Baneswar Dass for oringing together in this volume all the ideas of Sarkar in the many departments in which he has distinguished himself – Education, Banking, Currency and Railway besides purely Economic Questions.

N. R. K.

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT Vol.II. [By Dr. Beyon Kumar Sarkar, Chuckervertty Chatterjee & Co., Ltd., Calcutta. Price Rs. 6: P. 301.]

This is a reprint of seven articles published at different dates by the learned author on topics of Economic interest. The topics dealt with are:—Foreign Insurance Companies and their control, The Reichsbank and the Bangue de France (with a view to note the principles on which the Reserve Bank of India ought to be started); the Bank capitalism of Bengal. which describes the rapid growth of banking organisations in Bengal, compared with the other countries of the world; the Railway Industry of India, which gives us an account of Railway development in our country compared and contrasted with the rest of the world; Rationalisation in Indian Business, which shows that Indian Industrial magnates are intelligently absorbing the principles of Rationalisation, first introduced in the west, and a study of the Unemployment and Depression all the world over from 1929 to 1932.

Dr. Benoy Kumar Sarkar is an acknowledged authority in Indian Economics and a careful study of these articles shows how he keeps himself up to date by constant travel and keen observation. He is, at the same time, a great Indian Patriot and through-out, he seems to hold the thesis, that, given suitable opportunities, Indians can distinguish themselves in every walk of life. Insurance, Banking, Railway management and the starting of heavy industries are supposed to be new to India. But in all of them they have easily made their mark, because of their wonderful powers of assimilating fundamental principles and adapting them to Indian conditions.

As may be expected in such a learned volume, there are tables of statistics of all sorts and types culled from Indian and foreign journals and Government Publications. There are also nine charts in which the various subjects of discussion are graphically represented.

If only a suggestion is pardonable to an author of world wide reputation, we would say that the articles might be brought up to date in every new edition. What we mean is this. The Insurance, Railway and Banking statistics, instead of stopping with 1931 or 1932, may be brought up to 1936 or 37.

For the rest, it is a pleasure to read the book which is written in a fairly easy style, which is at once a tribute to the mastery of the subject and a capacity to express most difficult ideas in language which could be understood by even the lay man.

Needless to add, we are eagerly looking forward to the Publication of volume IV dealing with Economic Remakings in East and West, from the same author.

N. R. K.

HISTORY OF TIRUPATI Vol. I, by Dr. S. Krishnasvami Aiyangar, M.A., Ph.D., Published by the Commissioner, Tirupati-Tirumalai Devasthanam Committee, Price Rs. 5/-

Dr. S. K. Aiyangar and the T. T. D. Committee deserve to be congratulated for bringing out an attractive Volume dealing with the history of the Sri Venkatachalapathi shrine on the Tirupati Hills. The learned author discusses in the preface the extent and value of the different types of sources, inscriptional and literary, which throw light on the gradual growth and rise into prominence of this shrine, one of the most important in S. India.

The ancient period, so far as the history of Tirupati is concerned extends from about the beginning of the Christian era down to the middle of the XIV century. We have no definite information as to who the first human founder of the temple was. It is what is called a shrine self-create (*Svamyambhūsthala*), but, as far as the historical position is concerned, Tondaman chakravarti, as he is called in later literature and probably a local chieftain, must be regarded as the human founder. The Puranic sources take back the origin to somewhere between the beginning of the Vikrama era and the Saka era, that is, in the first century B. C. or A. D. We find the shrine in Tirupati figuring in the earliest secular sources of information we have for South India and is already a shrine with arrangements for conducting both the daily worships and also the more important annual festivals. Whatever be the character of the image or the peculiar features that it exhibits, the place passed in the estimation of the people as a Vaishnava holy place during the first eight centuries of its extistence, especially from the period of the great Āḷvārs.

From the IX to the middle of the XII century is the Age of the Vaishnava Acharyas. A study of the lives of Nādamuni Yāmunacharya and Tirumalai Nambi reveals the fact that during this period the Vaishnavas regarded it as a holy place of pilgrimage and that some of them considered it to be their duty to make efficient arrangements, as far as they could, for the care of the shrine in a locality not as yet well inhabited. The Age of Rāmānuja was an age of rising sectarianism and sectarian controversies in which even enlightened rulers like Kulottunga I were being drawn. The controversy spread to Tirupati and at the invitation of the local Chief Yādavarāya Ramanuja proved the Vaishnava charecter of the temple. Ramanuja 'made the original for worship in very many particulars as it is now'. The management of the temple was in private hands through right though the state interfered to set matters right whenever there was any absolute need for such interference.

During the next two centuries after the Age of Rāmānuja the authorities in charge of the temple changed and even the political possession of the locality changed but the organisation for the management of the temple and the arrangements for worship went on unaffected by any of these changes. During the period of Muhammadan invasions, probably, because of its 'comparative inaccessibility' the shrine at Tirupati did not suffer so much as those at S'rīrangam, Chidambaram, Rāmēs'varam and Madura.

With the advent of Vijayanagar we are on what might almost be regarded as the modern period of the history of the hill shrine. A large number of inscriptions covering the first century of the history of Vijayanagar reveal that the temple management continued to remain autonomous and under the control of the S'rī-vaishṇavas of the locality. The chanting of the Veda was the one item that was introduced during the time of Dēvarāya. Benefactions increase in number and they were largely of a private character.

The book is thus so full of interesting and important material concerning not only the shrine at Tirupati but also regarding the history of the locality through the ages. The value of the book is enhanced by the inclusion of an index and as many as seventeen illustrations. We are, thus, grateful to the author for the thought provoking volume he has given us.

At the same time it is our painful duty to point out to certain fundamental defects in the book. (1) The History of a shrine brought out by the authorities of a Devasthanam may be intended to serve three classes of readers, (a) the ordinary educated pilgrim anxious to know the traditional history of the shrine, (b) the rational but busy pilgrim who is anxious to know not only the traditional account but also a reasoned historical account of the growth of the temple and (c) the earnest research student who has the leisure and the intellectual equipment to study the original authorities, sift evidence and arrive at conclusions which can stand the test of scrutiny. Dr. Aiyangar attempts to satisfy all the three types of readers and the result is, in spite of possessing a racy style and an analytical mind, the account is confusing. The printed matter is increased unnecessarily and avoidable matter is allowed to creep in. I wish Dr. Aiyangar had bestowed a little more thought on the arrangement of the matter. (2) The first chapter is entitled 'General Geographical features' though only the first three pages refer superficially in my opinion, to the Geographic back ground of the Tirupati region. One wishes that Dr. Aiyangar had essayed the task of linking up the strategic position of the Vengaḍam Hills and the rise of the temple there. Why do we have a shrine at Tiruvannamalai, at Palani or at Aḷagarcoil. Did the shrine arise in those places purely

for religious purposes or for other reasons as well. This is a line of thought which is well worth investigation and Tirupati affords a fine example. It is a pity Dr. Aiyangar did not look at Tirupati from this geographic and military point of view. (3) The South Indian temples were not merely religious institutions but were social institutions as well. Dr. Aiyangar has not shown us how far the temple at Tirupati played this part through the ages, it being a centre of learning, arts like sculpture, painting, dancing etc., and social life. Probably Dr. Aiyangar will devote a chapter to this aspect of the history of Tirupati in Vol. II. (4) Again it is not possible for us to agree with Dr. Aiyangar in regard to the probable period of the shrine. It may be a very ancient shrine but to place its foundations in the early years of the Christian Era is to ask us to believe, more than we can, in tradition of a later date. (5) Why does Dr. Aiyangar attempt right through the book to prove that the shrine was a Vaishnavite shrine not only in the age of the *Alvars* or the post-Ramanuja period but from the very earliest times? I suppose he has no propagandist aim in view. Probably, it is the case of the deity of a primitive people getting ultimately orgnised, finding subsequently a place in the Hindu pantheon and then in the age of *Bhakti* and rising sectarianism becoming identified with Vishnu. (6) I shall not refer to the repetitions of the origin of the same story e.g. Kaṅikaṇṇan story (p 105) or the period allowed for Raja Raja's rule from 1216 A.D. to 1246 A.D. These other minor blemishes which mar the book a little are sure to be removed when the next edition is printed.

G. N.

ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA: Annual Report 1936-37. Edited by Rao Bahadur K. N. DIKSHIT, Director-General of Archælogy in India. New Delhi; Price: Rs. 19-10-0 or 30 shillings.

The Director-General of Archæology in India presents in this volume a full report of the work done during the year 1936—37. We are told that this will be the last report which contains an account of the activities in Burma and also the last one issued on the lines planned about thirty years ago. The Government of India seem to be planning a new orientation of the Department and its activities on the lines recommended by the expert appointed during the year 1939. It is therefore hoped that the Annual Reports in future will be confined practically to the routine and adminstration and authoritative publications pertaining to the latest discoveries, and matters relating to exploration and research, art and archæology, epigraphy and numismatics will be issued regularly from time to time for the benefit of the public. It is hoped that the work of Archæological survey of India will have a more useful and successful career in the service of the people in future.

The Annual Report shows that considerable good work has been done during the year. In the field of excavation the work done at Rājgir has produced some interesting results. The sculptures in red spotted stone of Mathurā found in this locality are evidence of the eastward diffusion of the Mathurā school as far as Rājgir. The sculptures further indicate the prevalance of Nāga worship in Bihar in I century B. C. of which Mathurā wàs a centre. Further excavations at Nandangarh reveal that the temple there which has at least five terraces, one above the other, bears a strong resemblance to the shrine at Paharpur, although the latter was constructed several centuries later than the former. The stupendous dimensions of the brick-built edifice which seems to go back to the 2nd century B. C. is unique and unparalleled in the whole range of monuments of the period to which it belongs. There are also no excavations of fresh sites in the Southern Circle; only a large number of new sites containing fresh ancient inscriptions, burials and funerary pottery and antiquities of the Iron age have been reported.

In the field of epigraphy most of the inscriptions collected in the North belong to the medieval period, except a few fragments in Brāhmi characters from Kosam in Allahabad district. With regard to work in the Southern Circle, the most interesting record is fragmentary inscription in Brāhmi characters belonging to the 3rd century A. D. It is found on a pillar near a Buddhist site on a hillock near Reṇṭala in Guntur district. It is dated the 5th year of the Ikshvāku emperor Siri Chāṁtamūla. There are numerous Buddhist sites in Palnad taluk, Guntur district and many of them particularly Rentalā, Madugula and others are already known to the Department. It now remains for the Department to make a systematic and detailed survey of the entire area and excavate them according to a plan. So far the work done at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa had been carried without a definite plan. It is unfortunate that the Nāgārjunakoṇḍa Museum, if rumour be true, should be under constant threat of being abolished, after investing nearly Rs. 40,000 on it, and its exhibits being removed to Calcutta and elsewhere. It will be the greatest injustice to the Andhra country. The Museum building requires many important improvements for the proper protection of the exhibits. Also a descriptive catalogue of the objects preserved in the Nāgārjunakoṅḍa Museum is an urgent necessity. During the year, where intensive excavation was needed as for instance at Mohenjo daro and Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, proper work had not been undertaken.

An interesting contribution to the volume is an article written by M. Chas. Duroiselle giving a short survey of the religious aspect of the history of Burma prior to the 11th century A.D. The volume is profusely illustrated with plates and pictures and useful index and appendices have been added. On the whole the report is better edited than before and makes an interesting and instructive reading of useful archæological collections and work.

B. V. K.